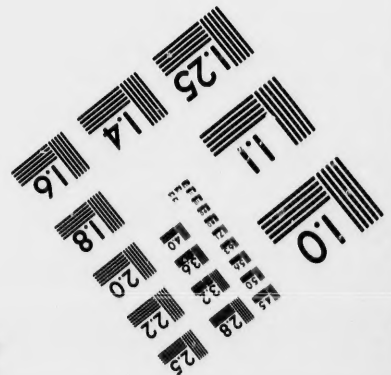
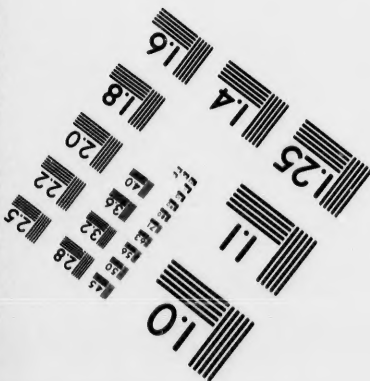
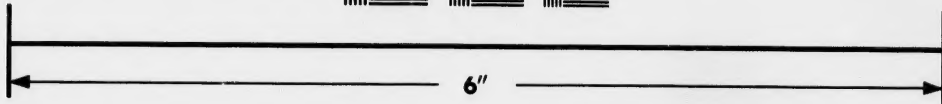
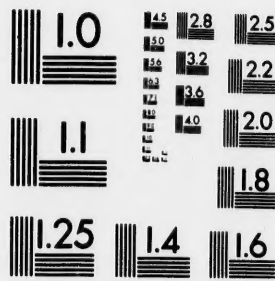


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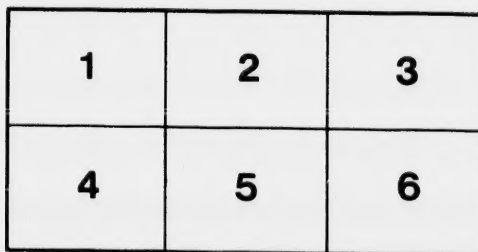
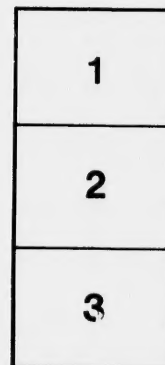
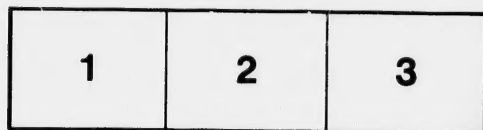
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ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α, Β, Γ.

THE FIRST THREE
PHILIPPIC ORATIONS

OF

DEMOSTHENES,

WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, EXPLANATORY AND HISTORICAL.

BY

SAMUEL WOODS, M. A.,

HEAD MASTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL, KINGSTON.

TORONTO:

ROLLO & ADAM,

1866.

108

LOVELL AND GIBSON, PRINTERS, YONGE STREET.

TO THE
REV. JOHN McCAUL, LL.D.,
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO,

THIS VOLUME

IS INSCRIBED BY ONE WHO
GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGES
HIS MANY OBLIGATIONS TO HIM
BOTH AS
PRESIDENT AND AS PROFESSOR.

STREET.

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PREFACE.

In presenting the present edition of the First Three Philippic orations of Demosthenes, a few words of explanation, and some general observations are deemed necessary. The text is with few exceptions that of the Third Edition of W. DINDORF published in 1864, and embodying the latest researches into the various manuscripts and editions of the author. The very small number of instances in which any departure has been made, is authorized by the names of BEKKER, SCHÆFER, WOLF and REISKE.

In the preparation of the notes I have made use of the labours of previous editors, and have taken great care to append to every selected note the name of the editor to whom it is due. If any instances occur in which this has been overlooked, the fault is to be attributed to my inadvertence, and not to any desire of appropriating the labours of others as my own. The Chronological Table has been carefully compiled, and no event has been given unless a conviction of its correctness was fully felt. In this part of the work great use was made of the histories of Greece by GROTE and THIRLWALL. The events of the life of Demosthenes with the list of Archons, the parallel years, and the dates of the speeches are taken from the edition of DINDORF above mentioned.

It will be seen that in the Notes and Introductions the references are given by page to the edition of REISKE,

which is the plan of reference now almost universally adopted. For various reasons I did not care to do otherwise, and at the end of the book I have added a table of parallel pages in order to facilitate the references to the present edition. No life of Demosthenes has been considered necessary, and many of the proper names have been entirely passed over, and others only partially touched upon. So many excellent works on History, Mythology, and Geography are now in the hands of University Students, that it would only have been burdening the notes with matter which can easily be obtained elsewhere. The references to parallel readings and forms of expressions in other authors have been made with great care, and it is hoped will be found generally correct. However in the great number of them some errors have doubtless remained, and for these an ample apology is offered.

It only remains for me to convey my sincere thanks to the friends who aided me in the preparation of the present work. To the President of University College I am especially indebted for his kindness in placing the University Library at my disposal; to the Hon. A. Campbell for allowing me the use of the Parliamentary Library; to the Rev. J. Ambery, M.A., of Trinity College, and W. H. Vandersmissen, Esq., B.A., of University College, whose care in revising the press has contributed so much to the general accuracy of the Notes; and to the Rev. Prof. Mowat, of Kingston, for many acts of kindness.

SAMUEL WOODS.

EARL STREET, Kingston.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS DURING THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
385-4	98.4	Dexilheus.	Demosthenes born according to the Pseudo-Plutarch in the <i>Lives of the Ten Attic Orators</i> , p. 845. D. The son of Demosthenes, the Pæanian and Cleobule daughter of Gylon.
382-1	99.3	Evander.	Philip, son of Amyntas and Eurydice, is born. His elder brothers were Alexander and Perdicas. The Cadmeia seized by Phœbidas, and an oligarchy established under the authority of Archias and Leontiades in the interest of Sparta. Phœbidas recalled, and Teletias sent in his stead. Pelopidas flies with the exiles to Athens. In the latter end of this year Teletias is slain at Olynthus, and his army defeated.
381-0	99.4	Demophilus.	Agesipolis sent out to succeed Teletias. Dies soon after at Torone, and Polybiades succeeds.
380 } 379 }	100.1	Demophilus.	The Olynthians sue for peace, and Polybiades returns to Sparta. Olynthus joins the Spartan confederacy in the early part of 379.
379-8	100.2	Nicon.	The Cadmeia recovered by Pelopidas, assisted by the exiles and a body of Athenian volunteers. Cleombrotus sets out to recover Thebes, but being unsuccessful he returns, leaving Sphodrias in command. He attacks the Piræus, and the Boeotian war breaks out against Sparta.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B. C.	OLYMP.	AECHON.	
378-7	100.3	Nausinicus.	A new valuation at Athens for Taxes. Sphodrias recalled, and Agesilaus succeeds; he ravages the Egeotian territory for some time until Chabrias and Gorgidas defeat him at Thespieæ. He returns and Phœbidas succeeds, who is slain soon after by the Thebans.
387-6	100.4	Callias.	The father of Demosthenes died, leaving a widow, and Demosthenes, seven, and a sister, five years of age. The guardians were Aphobus, Demophon, and Therippides, to each of whom legacies were left. Battle of Tanagra, in which Agesilaus defeats the Thebans. The Sacred Band of 300 established at Thebes. Cleombrotus again sent out with no better success.
376-5	101.1	Charisander	In this Olympiad and the six or seven subsequent years Demosthenes is carefully trained in his rudimentary education, and acquires the nickname of <i>Batalus</i> . Demetrius Phalereus says he could not at first pronounce the letter β . Chabrias conquers the Lacedæmonian fleet at Naxos, and restores the Athenian supremacy over the Ægean, and still later in the year the Spartans are defeated by Timotheus at Alyzia, which causes Corecra to renew the treaty with Athens.
375-4	101.2	Hippodamas	Pelopidas having failed at Orchomenos, on his retreat is attacked by a superior force at Tegyra, and routs the Spartans; Cleombrotus again sent to their aid; the Thebans send an army into Phocis; Cleombrotus going to their assistance, forces the Thebans to retreat.
374-3	101.3	Socratides.	The Athenians jealous of the success of the Thebans attempt to make peace with Sparta, but a dispute having arisen about some Zacynthian exiles restored by Timotheus in 375, the negotiations were interrupted and war is renewed. Iphicrates returns to Athens after an absence in Persia with Pharnabazus of four years. Timotheus, sent to relieve Corecra which was attacked by the Spartans, fails for want of supplies, and is compelled to cruise around the coast of the Ægean. Pelopidas is slain. Timotheus is recalled, and Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Callistratus appointed in his stead. The Athenians conquer a Syracusan fleet at Corecra, and Cephalonia is reduced under the Athenian dominion. The Thebans destroy Platæa, and its inhabitants take refuge in Athens. Thebes shares the same fate.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

374-3	101.3	Socratides.	The Athenians send an army into Phocis; Cleombrotus going to their assistance, forces the Thebans to retreat.
			The Athenians jealous of the success of the Thebans attempt to make peace with Sparta, but a dispute having arisen about some Zacynthian exiles restored by Timotheus in 375, the negotiations were interrupted and war is renewed. Iphicrates returns to Athens after an absence in Persia with Pharnabazus of four years. Timotheus, sent to relieve Corcyra which was attacked by the Spartans, fails for want of supplies, and is compelled to cruise around the island of Corcyra, and is defeated and slain. Timotheus is recalled, and Iphicrates, Chabrias and Callistratus appointed in his stead. The Athenians conquer a Syracusan fleet at Corcyra, and Cephallenia is reduced under the Athenian dominion. The Thebans destroy Plataea, and its inhabitants take refuge in Athens. Thespieæ shares the same fate.
373-2	101.4	Asteias.	Shortly after the death of Mnasippus, Iphicrates arrives at Corcyra and is successful against Sparta; prepares to invade Laconia from Acarnania. Timotheus tried and acquitted, but obliged to retire into Persia.
372-1	102.1	Alcisthenes.	Athena being enraged with Thebes on account of the treatment of the cities of Thespieæ and Plataea, sends ambassadors to conclude a peace with Sparta. Epaminondas represents Thebes at the Council, but refuses to sign the articles of the treaty, because the Boeotian towns would have acquired their autonomy, and each combatant must disband his armies. Peace concluded with Athens by Sparta.
371-0	102.2	Phrasicles.	Cleombrotus is ordered to move from Phocis on Bœotia, but soon after encounters the Thebans at Leuctra, and is totally defeated, and slain. Mantinea restored. Jason of Pheræ having arrived a few days after the battle advises an armistice, and the Spartans retire into Peloponnesus. Pammenes advises the Acadians to build a city, and call it Megalopolis. Epaminondas also favors the extension of democracy in Peloponnesus.
370 { 369 }	102-3	Dysnicetus.	Amyntas, King of Macedonia, dies in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. Alexander succeeds. Jason of Pheræ, intending to march into Delphi, and pre- side at the Pythian games, is murdered. His brothers Polydorus and Poly- phron succeed him. The Spartans invade Arcadia, under Agesilaus; Poly- the country and then retire. The Thebans in return invade Sparta, under Epaminondas, and remain three months.
369-8	102.4	Lysistratus.	The Thebans having collected forces from Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, and others of their allies, again invade Peloponnesus; there they are joined by the Eleans,

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
369-8	102.4	Lysistratus.	<p>Arcadians, and Argives. The Spartans retire to the towns, but having received aid from Dionysius of Syracuse, they defeat the Thebans in a skirmish; the latter retire, and enter Messenia, where the city of Messena is founded, and peopled by Messenian insurgents and Helots. Epaminondas leaves a garrison there, and returns to Thebes. The Lacedæmonians implore aid from Athens and Iphicrates is sent. Polyphron is murdered by his nephew Alexander, who tyrannizes over the Thessalian towns. The Alcæadae invoke the aid of Alexander of Macedon, who puts garrisons in Larissa and Crannon, but is recalled into Macedonia by some intrigues. Ptolemy of Alorus, having slain Alexander, obtains the kingdom of Macedonia, but the third year afterwards is murdered by Perdiceæ, the lawful heir. Iphicrates stations himself at the Isthmus, but Epaminondas avoids him, and having defeated the Athenian cavalry, enters Achaia to secure his allies. Thessaly applies for aid against Alexander of Phœre, and Pelopidas is sent. The Spartans send an army to the Isthmus, and here they unite with the Athenians and Corinthians. Epaminondas forces their lines, and having attacked Corinth is repulsed by Chabrias and returns home. Pelopidas visits Macedonia, and having arranged the affairs of the kingdom, brings Philip to Thebes, where he resided several years. Pelopidas visits Thessaly, and is imprisoned by Alexander of Phœre. The Thebans are defeated by Alexander and the Athenians; Epaminondas a private in the Theban army. Archidamus gains the "Tearless Battle" over the Argives and Arcadians. Epaminondas releases Pelopidas; he visits Persia and obtains the sanction of the King to the designs of Thebes. A congress at Thebes, at which a deputy of the King is present, but his overtures are rejected by the Greek states.</p>
368-7	103.1	Nausigenes.	<p>of oratory. Demosthenes comes of age and brings an action against his guardians for malversation of his estate, and gains a verdict. Epaminondas marches into Achaia to secure his allies. Corinth and Philus make a separate peace with Thebes.</p>
366-6	103.2	Polyzelus.	<p>of oratory. Demosthenes applies himself to the study of oratory. Demosthenes comes of age and brings an action against his guardians for malversation of his estate, and gains a verdict. Epaminondas marches into Achaia to secure his allies. Corinth and Philus make a separate peace with Thebes.</p>

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366-5	103.3	Cephalisodorus.	of oratory. Demosthenes comes of age and brings an action against his guardians for malversion of his estate, and gains a verdict. Epaminondas marches into Achaia to secure his allies. Corinth and Phlius make a separate peace with Thebes.
365-4	103.4	Chion.	Oropus wrested from Athens by Themison and Theodorus and delivered over to the Thebans. The Athenians make a separate alliance with Arcadia. Demosthenes enrolled as a citizen. The Achæans make peace with Thebes. Elis and Arcadia at war.
364-3	104.1	Timocrates.	Ptolemy is slain by Perdicas III., who ascends the throne of Macedon. Amphipolis surrenders to Iphicrates, and gives hostages; they are given in charge to Charidemus, who returns them to the city, and goes into the service of Cotys, King of Thrace. Demosthenes again sues his guardians, and delivers the speech contra One'orem, and Aphobus is fined ten talents which he is unable to pay. The other guardians are then attacked by law. Sparta assists the Eleans against Arcadia. The battle of Olympia is fought during the game by the Arcadians, who attempted to exclude the Eleans from the control of the Games. The Arcadians are defeated. Pelopidas overcomes Alexander of Phæræ, and makes him dependent upon Thebes. Callisthenes commander of the Athenian fleet on the coast of Macedonia is superseded by Timotheus, who takes Torone and Potidea. Pelopidas again in Thessaly, where he collects an army of Thessalians, and totally defeats Alexander at the battle of Cynoscephalæ, but is himself slain. War at Amphipolis between Perdicas and Athens, ended by the truce of Callisthenes which leaves the city in the hands of the Macedonians.
363-2	104.2	Chariclides.	Timotheus takes Pydna and Methone. Thebes sends a fleet to Byzantium, which Laches opposes without effect. Alexander of Phæræ besieges Peparethus,

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
363-2	104.2	Chariclides.	and attacks some of the Ægean Islands; the Athenians oppose him, when he sails for Attica, and plunders the Piræus, Epaminondas leads his army for the last time into Peloponnesus; attacks Sparta; is repulsed, and withdraws to Mantinea, where the great battle is fought in which he is slain in the moment of victory; his army numbered 33,000; the Spartans were considerably less. A general peace; but Sparta refuses to acknowledge Messenia.
362-1	104.3	Molon.	Timotheus captures Sestus, Crithote, and Eleus, in the Chersonese; and afterwards besieges Samos. The Athenians despatch a fleet against Alexander of Phœzæ, and another to Thrace, to co-operate with Miltocythes, who revolted from Cotys; Cotys amuses them with promises, and meanwhile defeats Miltocythes.
361-0	104.4	Nicophemus.	Samos capitulates after a siege of eleven months. Callistratus, the Athenian orator, banished. Messene recognized by Sparta.
360 } 359 }	105.1	Callimedes.	Timotheus and Charidemus attack Amphipolis, and are defeated, owing to the arrival of succor from Macedonia. Cotys captures Sestus. Perdicas is slain in battle against the Illyrians, leaving an infant son Amyntas. Philip ascends the throne of Macedon. The Illyrians are preparing to invade his kingdom. There are two pretenders: Argæus supported by Athens, and Pausanias by Cotys and the Thracians. Argæus defeated, and peace with Athens, declares Amphipolis free, and accommodates matters with Pausanias and Cotys.
359-8	105.2	Eucharistus.	Demosthenes mentioned as flourishing in age by Eusebius, <i>Chron.</i> p. 345, under this year, <i>Ἀμμοθένης ὁ πῆραρ ἐτυπώσθη</i> . Philip subdues the Præonians, and defeats Bardylis King of Illyria, and subdues his country as far as Lake kingdom divided into three parts.
358-7	105.3	Cephisodotus.	Chardemus defeats the Athenians attacking Cersobleptes, takes Miltocythes prisoner, and causes him to be put to death at Cardia. Amphipolis besieged by Philip; an Amphimolitan embassador

claim in battle against the Illyrians, leaving an infant son Amyntas. Philip ascends the throne of Macedon. The Illyrians are preparing to invade his kingdom. There are two pretenders: Argæus supported by Athens, and Pausanias by Cotys and the Thracians. Argæus defeated, and peace with Athens, declares Amphipolis free, and accommodates matters with Pausanias and Cotys.

359-8 105.2 Eucharistus.

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kingdom divided into three parts. Charidemus defeats the Athenians attacking Cersobleptes, takes Miltocythes prisoner, and causes him to be put to death at Cardia.

358-7 105.3 Cephisodotus.

Amphipolis besieged by Philip; an Amphipolitan embassy sent to Athens imploring aid is defeated by the intrigues of Philip, who is allowed to capture the city, under promise of delivering it over to the Athenians. Conciliates Olynthus by ceding Anthemus, marches against Pydna and causes its surrender. Alexander of Pheræ assassinated. Cersobleptes gives up all the Chersonese to Athens, except Cardia. The Athenians quarrel with Philip about Amphipolis; and soon after the Social War breaks out; Rhodes, Chios, Cos and Byzantium having revolted from Athens, on account of the conduct of Chares towards them. Expedition of Athens to Eubœa to expel the Thebans.

357-6 105.4 Agathocles.

The Athenians attack Chios, and are defeated, with the loss of their general, Chabrias. The Thebans obtain an Amphictyonic decree against the Phocians for cultivating the Sacred Plain near Delphi, which originates the Sacred War. Philip takes Potidea, and presents it to the Olynthians. Birth of Alexander. Parmenio conquers the Illyrians. Philip takes the mine district of Pangæus, and establishes Philippi on the site of Krenides. Isocrates, *De Pace*. Expulsion of Dionysius of Syracuse.

356-5 106.1 Elphines.

Byzantium besieged by the Athenians, but relieved by the allies. Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Chares with sixty ships are sent out to reduce the revolted allies, but having failed to attack the enemy during a storm, Chares accuses the others of treachery, and they are recalled. The allies ravage Imbros, Lemnos, and Samos, and disturb the commerce of the Ægean. Chares having no supplies hires his army to Artabazus the Persian satrap in revolt, and obtains large rewards. The King enraged at the Athenians is about to aid the allies, when Athens makes peace with them in the summer of 355.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
356-5	106.1	Elphines.	Philip suppresses the designs of the Thracians, Pæonians and Illyrians to unite against him.
355-4	106.2	Callistratus.	In this Archonship Demosthenes delivers his speeches against <i>Androtion</i> , and against <i>Leptines</i> . <small>DION. HAL. p. 724.</small> Philomelus the Phocian general seizes the treasures at Delphi, and after defeating the Locrians of Amphissa, obtains promises of support from Athens and Lacedæmon. In the meantime the Thebans and Thessalians come to the assistance of the Locrians. It is supposed by some that Philip during this year invaded Imbros, Scyros, and Lemnos. Coreyra revolts from Athens. Timotheus and Iphicrates brought to trial; they are acquitted, but Timotheus withdraws from Athens and soon after dies.
354-3	106.3	Diotimus.	Demosthenes <i>περὶ τῶν Συμμαχιῶν</i> , in which he advises the Athenians not to disturb the existing peace with Persia, and not to begin war before they prepare a naval force; and he explains how it is to be done. His first speech in political life. Philomelus is attacked by the Thebans, largely reinforced, in the defiles of Parnassus; and to prevent himself falling into the hands of the enemy throws himself from a high rock. Onomarchus succeeds him, and the Thebans retire. Towards the end of this year Philip lays siege to Methone an ally of Athens, and captures it.
353-2	106.4	Thudemus.	The oration against <i>Meidias</i> is set down for this year by <small>Dionors</small> , and also <i>Pro Megalopolitans</i> and against <i>Timocrates</i> . Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagase and Magnesia. He had been invited into Thessaly to expel the tyrants of Pheræ and their allies the Phocians. He is then repulsed, but immediately afterwards returns with a larger army, expels the tyrants, and then proceeds to enter Phocis by the pass of Thermopylæ, but is prevented by Sparta; and an Embassy is sent imploring help from Athens against Megalopolis. Demosthenes advises them to aid the other side, and they remain neutral. The Macedonians prevail at Eretria, and the free constitution is dissolved. Mausolus dies, and is succeeded by his son.

353-2	106.4	Thudemus.	the Thebans retire. Towards the end of this year Philip lays siege to Methone an ally of Athens, and captures it.
			The oration against <i>Medias</i> is set down for this year by <i>Dindorf</i> , and also <i>Pro Megalopolitamis</i> and against <i>Timocrates</i> . Philip takes Methone, and soon after Pagasæ and Magnesia. He had been invited into Thessaly to expel the tyrants of Phærxæ and their allies the Phocians. He is then repulsed, but immediately afterwards returns with a larger army, expels the tyrants, and then proceeds to enter Phocis by the pass of Thermopylæ, but is prevented by Sparta; and an Embassy is sent imploring help from Athens against Megalopolis. Demosthenes advises them to aid the other side, and they remain neutral. The Macedonians prevail at Eretria, and the free constitution is dissolved. Mausolus dies, and is succeeded by his queen Artemisia.
352-1	107.1	Aristodemus.	<i>FIRST PULPITIC</i> , and oration against <i>Aristocrates</i> . In this year others place the expedition of Philip against Lemnos, Imbros, Seyros, and the plundering of the Athenian coast. Philip after his repulse at Thermopylæ, retreats towards Thrace; and after arranging affairs in the interior suddenly appears on the Propontis, and besieges Heræum Teichos. The Megalopolitan war embraces Thebes, Argos, Sicyon, and Messene; the Spartans thus pressed and despairing of aid from Phocis make peace. Phayllus largely reinforced from Sparta invades Bœotia, and is defeated by the Thebans.
351-0	107.2	Thessalus.	Demosthenes <i>De Lib. Rhodiorum</i> . Phayllus overruns the country of the Epicnemidian Locrians; and after another battle with the Eæolians at Aryca dies, and is succeeded by his nephew, Phalæcus. The Rhodians send for aid to Athens against the oligarchical faction. Artemisia dies. The Thessalians remonstrate with Philip for retaining Pagasæ and Magnesia. Phalæcus invades Bœotia, but is repulsed, and Phocis in turn is ravaged by the Thebans. Demosthenes <i>ἔπερ Φορτῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀναίματος</i> .
350 } 349 }	107.3	Apollodorus.	Demosthenes <i>ἔπερ Φορτῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀναίματος</i> . Phocion goes to the aid of Plutarchus of Eretria, fights the battle of Tamyna, expels Cleitarchus, and at last ejects Plutarchus for his treachery. Philip takes Apollonia, and threatens the Chalcidic towns. Demosthenes, choragus this year.
349-8	107.4	Callimachus.	The three Olynthian Oritions. The Olynthians having sent an embassy for aid, the Athenians vote an alliance, and send off Chares. They again send, and Charidemus is despatched; and a third embassy having arrived, an armament of citizen soldiers go to the aid of the Olynthians. During this year, and the preceding one, Philip had been engaged in capturing the Chal-

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHEON.	
349-8	107.4	Callimachus.	
348-7	108.1	Theophrastus.	<p>cidic cities to the number of thirty-two, whose inhabitants he sold into slavery, or donated to various cities to make these more faithful to himself. Demosthenes one of the 500 this year.</p> <p>In this Olympiad Philip captured Olynthus through the treachery of Lasthenes and Euthykrates. The Athenians had sent to its aid, according to <i>DEM. de FALS. LEG.</i>, 4,000 citizens, 10,000 mercenaries, and 50 triremes. The Oration against <i>Médtias</i> is stated by some authors to have been delivered this year. Phalæcus is deposed from his command in the Sacred War, and it gradually languishes. Philip celebrates his triumph over Olynthus at Diium in Pieria. Philip, invited by the Thebans to end the Sacred War, complies towards the end of the following year.</p> <p><i>Æschines</i>, as envoy to Peloponnesus, addresses the <i>Ten Thousand</i> at Megalopolis. Others are sent in various directions to invite aid against Macedonia, but are all equally unsuccessful. Hence the idea of a Peace first was entertained probably through some indirect hints of Philip, and the Eubœans still in revolt from Athens. The Phocians offer to put Thronium, Nicæa and Alponus under the charge of Athens, if they would assist them in resisting Philip and the Thebans. The Athenians, fearing that Philip may be successful here also, are the more urgent for peace, and at last ten Athenians and one allied envoy are sent to treat with Philip, among whom were Demosthenes and <i>Æschines</i>. They return in the beginning of 346, and meanwhile Philip makes aggressions on some of the northern allies of Athens. Peace and alliance voted with Philip, and ambassadors sent off to receive the oath of Philip. He is in Thrace, and on his return takes the ambassadors to Phœra, where the Peace is signed. Fourteen days afterwards word is brought to Athens that Philip had entered Phocis, and and, whilst preparing for defence, are assured by the letter of Philip, and refrain from declaring war.</p> <p>The Phœcian war is concluded after ten years continuance. The Amphictyonic council deposes Phocis from the list of States.</p>
347-6	108.2	Themistocles.	
346-5	108.3	Archias.	

be successful here also, are the more urgent for peace, and at last ten Athenians and one allied envoy are sent to treat with Philip, among whom were Demosthenes and Aeschines. They return in the beginning of 346, and meanwhile Philip makes aggressions on some of the northern allies of Athens. Peace and alliance voted with Philip, and ambassadors sent off to receive the oath of Philip. He is in Thrace, and on his return takes the ambassadors to Phere, where the Peace is signed. Fourteen days afterwards word is brought to Athens that Philip had entered Phocis, and

and, whilst preparing for defence, are assured by the letter of Philip, and refrain from declaring war.

The Phocian war is concluded after ten years continuance. The Amphictyonic council deposes Phocis from the list of States represented, and bestows the vacant seat on Philip, who is also elected to preside at the Pythian games. Athens invited to agree to his election, and Demosthenes in his *De Pace* advises them to acquiesce. Philip now proposes to aid some Peloponnesian towns against Sparta, when Demosthenes is sent at the head of an embassy to counteract the Macedonian influence.

Colonies sent to the Chersonese, under Diopitiles, by Athens. Philip harasses the Illyrians and Thessalians, and divides the latter country into tetrarchies, each to be governed by ten men nominated by himself. Python comes to Athens from Philip in the spring of 344 to complain of the embassy to Peloponnesus. Philip sends aid to the Argives and Messenians. Halonessus taken possession of by pirates under Sostratus. They are expelled by Philip, who retains the island.

In consequence of the embassy of Python, and the aid sent to the cities of Peloponnesus, Demosthenes delivers the *Second Philippic*, urging the Athenians to renew the war against Philip. They decree to send an embassy requiring him to deliver up to the states of Greece all his conquests, which, with the exception of Halonessus, he refuses. Python again sent to adjust disputes, and a contrary embassy sent by Athens to insist upon her claims.

The speech, *de Halonesso*, delivered in this year, which is now ascribed to Demosthenes, but according to the best critics was delivered by Hegesippus the leader of the embassy to Philip mentioned under the last year. Philip states his claims, which are unreasonable. Phocion sent to Megara, to oppose Philip; forces and an embassy sent to Acarnania to thwart him there; in both cases successfully. Philip makes attempts upon Euboea to

346-5 108.3 Archias.

345-4 108.4 Eubulus.

344-3 109.1 Lyciscus.

343-2 109.2 Pythodotus.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
343-2	109. 2	Pythodotus.	<p>establish tyrants against the Athenian interest, and in consequence of the odium excited thereby, Demosthenes accuses <i>Aschines</i>, in his oration, <i>De Falsa Legatione</i>, of treachery on the second embassy of the eleven to Philip, but he is acquitted. Philip soon after sets out on an expedition against Thrace, and offers to give up <i>Halonesus</i> to Athens, at the same time complaining that the Athenian colonists in Chersonese are disturbing his interests there. Demosthenes advises the Athenians not to take <i>Halonesus</i> as a gift, as it was theirs by right. The king of Thrace defeated in several engagements, and finally subdued.</p>
342-1	109. 3	Sosigenes.	<p>Respecting the action of the Athenian colonists, Demosthenes delivers his oration <i>De Rebus Chers.</i> in the winter of 341, and Philip continues his operations in Thrace, conquers Teres the king of the country, and expels <i>Cersobleptes</i>, who takes refuge in Athens. He then marches towards the <i>Propontis</i>, and at the same time his allies become successful in <i>Eubœa</i>, and establish <i>Cleitarchus</i> and <i>Plutarchus</i> as tyrants. Demosthenes, in consequence of these events, delivers his <i>Third Philippic</i>. The Athenian cornships intended for the relief of <i>Selymbria</i> are seized by Philip, but delivered up on representations, <i>hardly correct</i>, of the Athenians.</p>
341-0	109. 4	Nicomachus.	<p>tyrants expelled from <i>Eubœa</i> by <i>Phœceus</i>, and Demosthenes crowned for having advised the expedition. Philip captures <i>Selymbria</i>, and the Athenians on the advice of Demosthenes apply to Persia for aid, after which Philip, in a letter, virtually declares war against Athens, and sends an army into the Chersonese. Under this year the <i>Fourth Philippic</i> (not genuine) is placed by <i>Dionysius</i>.</p>
340 } 339 }	110. 1	Theophrastus.	<p><i>Perinthus</i> attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians. Philip marches having gone to the Amphictyonic council, as one of the Athenian <i>Pythagoras</i> accuses the <i>Locrians</i> of cultivating the Sacred Plain, and sets up an Amphictyonic war, which was ended by the intervention of <i>Philip</i>, and the total subversion of the <i>Græcian States</i>.</p>

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

341-0 109.4	Nicomachus	up on representations, and the tyrants expelled from Euboea by Phocion, and Demosthenes crowned for having advised the expedition. Philip captures Selymbria, and the Athenians on the advice of Demosthenes apply to Persia for aid, after which Philip, in a letter, virtually declares war against Athens, and sends an army into the Chersonese. Under this year the <i>Fourth Philippic</i> (not genuine) is placed by Dionysius.
340 } 339 }	110.1 Theophrastus	Perinthus attacked, and the siege being raised by the Persians. Philip marches having gone to the Amphictyonic council, as one of the Athenian Pylagores accuses the Locrians of cultivating the Sacred Plain, and stirs up an Amphictyonic war, which was ended by the intervention of Philip, and the total subversion of the Grecian States.
339-8	110.2 Lysimachides	Aid voted to Byzantium at Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Athens, and Chares is sent to assist them. They refuse to receive him in the city, and Phocion is substituted. Demosthenes induces the Athenians to vote that Philip had broken the peace, and they send aid to Olynthus, thereby causing him to raise the siege and return home. He is given the command against the Locrians, and advancing towards them captures Elateia. Demosthenes carries a law authorizing a treaty with Thebes a few days before.
338-7 110.3	Chærondas	Demosthenes sent to Thebes, where he induces them, notwithstanding the offers of Pytho to become allies of Athens. The war then commences. Chares defeated by Philip, and at last in October the hostile armies meet at Chæronea, and the final victory is gained by Philip. The Athenians condemn their general Lysicles to death, and fortify the city under the active charge of Demosthenes, who this year was repairer of the walls and treasurer of the Theoric fund. Philip makes a triumphal march through Greece, bestows peace upon Athens, and at Corinth is elected General of the Greeks against Persia.
337-6	110.4 Phrynichus	Ctesiphon proposes his decree for crowning Demosthenes at the greater Dionysia, for which he is impeached by Æschines. Philip having sent Parmenio and Attalus into Asia Minor to liberate the Grecian cities, returns to Macedonia, and marries Cleopatra.
336-5 111.1	Pythodemus	Philip while celebrating the marriage of his daughter to the King of Epirus at Edessa is murdered by Pausanias, and Alexander succeeds in his twentieth year. Active measures taken to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and embassies sent to all Greece, and to Attalus in Asia to revolt from Alexander.

B. C.	OLYMP.	ARCHON.	
336-5	111.1	Pythodemos.	Alexander at Thermopylæ is elected general of the Greeks, and obtains the submission of Athens and Thebes. He then proceeds northward into Illyria, and across the Danube; returning he hears of the revolt of Thebes.
335-4	111.2	Euænetus.	Alexander captures and despoils Thebes, and sells the prisoners as slaves. The Theban territory divided among the Bœotian towns. The Athenians having voted aid to Thebes, Alexander demands that Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides be given up to him; and finally, on the advice of Demades, does not insist upon their delivery.
334-3	111.3	Ctesicles.	Alexander crosses into Asia, and defeats the forces of Darius at the passage of the Granicus. Persia intrigues for the revolt of the Grecian States from Macedon.
330 } 329 }	112.3	Aristophon.	The decree of Ctesiphon proposed in OL. 110, 4, now comes up for trial, and Demosthenes and Æschines deliver their speeches <i>De Corona</i> in the early part of the year. Æschines is defeated and retires to Rhodes.
324-3	114.1	Hegesias.	Messages sent to the various Greek States to pay divine honors to Alexander. Harpalus arrives at Athens, is demanded by Antipater governor of Macedonia in Alexander's absence. Being thrown into prison in Athens, his treasure is lodged in the Acropolis, and a portion of it being missed, Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable to pay, he flees to Thence to Trezene, and is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon.
323-2	114.2	Cephalisodorus	Alexander being dead, the Athenians and other States of Greece, by means of their ambassadors prepare for war against Macedon, and Leosthenes is chosen general. Agents are sent in every direction, and Demosthenes in exile joins the envoys to Peloponnesus. On his return to Ægina, a trime is sent, on motion of Demo, son of Demomeles, to bring him back to Athens, rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 323. The anger of Antipater is again aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon afterwards

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323-2 114.2 Cephisodorus

Demosthenes is charged with having taken a bribe from him. He is condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, and being unable to pay, is banished. Alexander dies at Megara, and thence to Trezene, and is banished. Alexander dies at Babylon. Alexander being dead, the Athenians and other States of Greece, by means of their ambassadors prepare for war against Macedon, and Leosthenes is chosen general. Agents are sent in every direction, and Demosthenes in exile joins the envoys to Peloponnesus. On his return to Ægina, a trirème is sent, on motion of Demo, son of Demomeles, to bring him back to Athens,

rendered complete by the desertion of the allies, August, 323. The anger of the populace is again aroused against Demosthenes and the war party; and Antipater and Craterus approaching the city, they seek safety in flight. Demades carries a decree to put them to death, and soon after they are demanded by Antipater. Hyperides, Aristonicus and Himeræus are seized in the temple of Æacus in Ægina, and being sent to Antipater at Cleonæ, are there put to death. But Demosthenes having fled to the Island of Calauria, and taken refuge there at the altar of Neptune to save himself from the hands of Antipater, drank poison, and died on the 16th day of Pyanepsion, which corresponds to the 14th day of October, B. C., 322. Forty-two years afterwards his statue was erected in Athens, near the temple of Mars, with the following inscription:

Εἴπερ ἴσθη βόλμην γυῖάμη, Δημόσθενης, εἴχες,
οἴποι' δὲν Ἑλληῶνων ἤρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδῶν.

Κακῶς ἐν
αηλύθασιν
καρῆται παύ
ω, καὶ εἰση
δύο δυνά
οι μένουσα
άπτω, ξένο
ων, κελεύει
θηείας, ἀλ
άπτω, ἵνα
ων χειμῶνα,
ρη τοῖς πρ
ων κρατῆ, ἀ

Εἰ μὲν τ
Αθηναῖοι, λ
γῶμην ἀπε
θέντων, ἦσ
ἀ γιγνώσκω
αὐτοὶ πρότερ
τος ἀναστὰς
παρεληλυθό
αὐ ὑμᾶς νῦν
Πρῶτον μ
αροῦσι πρά
ἵστι χεῖριστο

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Κακῶς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Φίλιππον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φερόμενοι συν-
ηλύθασιν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθυμοῦντες. ὁ τοίνυν βήτωρ τήν τε ἀθυμίαν
καρᾶται παύειν, λέγων οὐδὲν εἶναι θαυμαστὸν εἰ ῥαθυμοῦντες κεκράτην-
ται, καὶ εἰσηγεῖται πῶς ἂν ἄριστα τῷ πολέμῳ προσενεχθεῖεν. κελεύει
τοὺς δύο δυνάμεις παρασκευάσασθαι, μίαν μὲν μείζω, πολιτικὴν, ἥτις
τοῖς μένουσα πρὸς τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν χρεῖας ἕτοιμος ὑπάρξει, ἐτέραν δὲ
κατὰ τῷ ξένων ὑπὸ τῶν στρατευομένων, παραμεμιγμένων δὲ καὶ πολι-
τικῶν, κελεύει μὴ Ἀθήνησι μένειν μηδὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς
ἐπιτηθείας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν Μακεδοῦν ἀναστρέφειν πολέμουσαν ἀδια-
λείπτως, ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἐτησίαις πνέοντα ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Φίλιππος ἢ καὶ
ἄλλοι χεῖμῶνα, ἡνίκα Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Μακεδοῦν πλεῖν οὐ δυνατὸν, ἐπι-
βῆται τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπάν-
τα κρατῆ, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξομένη δύναμις ὑπάρχη.

Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προὔτιθετο, ὧ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχῶν ἂν ἕως οἱ πλείστοι τῶν εἰωθότων
ἐπιβλήμην ἀπεφίηναντο, εἰ μὲν ἤρεσκε τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων
ἐπιβλήτων, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἤγον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιβλήμην
ἐπιβλήμην λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ ὧν πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν
οἱ πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶ-
τος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ
παρεληλυθότος χρόνου τὰ δέοντα οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν, οὐδὲν
ἡμᾶς νῦν εἶδει βουλεύεσθαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς
παραβῆται πράγμασιν, οὐδ' εἰ πάντῃ φαύλως ἔχει δοκεῖ. ὁ γάρ
ἄριστος αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς

τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; οὐδὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς ἔχει
 τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἅ προσήκει πραττόντων οὐκ ἔπραξες
 εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἄνδρες
 καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησθῆναι
 κριμένους, ἡλικίην ποτ' ἐχόντων δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ δὲ κ
 χρόνος οὐ πολὺς, ὡς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιστον ἂν
 ὑμεῖς ἐπράξατε τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὑπεμείνατε ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνισμάτων
 νικῶν δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον. τίνος οὖν ἐνεώσθητι δ' ὅτι
 ταῦτα λέγω; ἴν' εἰδήτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεάσασθε καὶ τησθε
 οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ φοβερὸν οὐτ', ἂν ὀλιγορῆσθε
 τοιοῦτον οἶον ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι γίνεσθε, ἂν
 τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς ἐκρατεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχοντος
 τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν ὕβρει τούτου, δι' ἣν ταῦτα παρόντα
 τόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρήν. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν κείνους κα
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον οἶεται τὸν Φίλιππον εὐνοῦν τὸν
 σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως καὶ καὶ ἐν ἄλλ
 τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀπολωλέναι τῇ πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἶεται, λαοφρονῶν νομίζ
 σάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ', ὅτι εἶχομέν ποτε ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔχοντ'
 Πύδναν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τῆς ἡπείρου, ἣν ἀπ
 τον οἰκεῖον κύκλω, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων ἐπιπέδων, τὸ τ
 αὐτονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα ὑπῆρχε καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβουλόμην δ' αἰρεσει
 λετ' ἔχειν οἰκειῶς ἢ κείνῳ. εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε περικτελεῖ καὶ
 τὴν ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, ὡς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖοις τὴν ἔχων
 ἔχουσι τοσαῦτα ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ χώρας ἔρημον ὄντος περιβ
 συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ πεποιήκεν ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσαύτην ἀθλι
 τὴν ἐκτήσατο δύναμιν. ἀλλ' εἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ ὅτι ἂν χρῆ
 καλῶς ἐκείνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρία ἀθλιότητος καὶ ἀνάγκης τῆς
 πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς παρούσι ἐν γὰρ οἰκ
 τῶν ἀπόντων καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ πράγματα
 ὀμειλούντων. καὶ γὰρ τοι ταύτῃ χρησάμενος τῇ γνώμῃ παρόντων πυνθη
 κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἂν ἐλών τις ἔχει πολέμου κέρων ἢ Μ

οὗν ἔστι τοῦτο; οὐδὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα ποιησάμενος. καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ
 ποιοῦντων ὑμῶν κακὸς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῦτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὀρώσι
 σῆκε πραττῶντων οὐκ ἀρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἂ χρεῖ. ἂν τούτων,
 θαι. ἔπειτα ἐνθυμητῶ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐβελήσθητε
 σιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμνησθῆναι γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν,
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ δεῖ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει,
 κόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάγκη ἴσασιν ἀφείς τὴν εἰρωνεῖαν ἕτοιμος πράττειν ὑπάρξει, ὁ μὲν
 ατε ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἡλικία στρατεύεσθαι, — συνε-
 μον. τίνας οὖν ἐνεῖναι δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἂν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐβελήσθητε γενέσθαι καὶ
 αἰοί, καὶ θεάσθησθε καὶ γησθε αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ
 ρὸν οὐτ', ἂν ὀλιγορῶς ἀποβῆσιν πάνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερά αὐτῶν κομι-
 δεύμασι χρώμενοι γησθε, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατεβράθυμηνά πάλιν ἀναλήψ-
 τεῖτε ἐκ τοῦ προσέχοντος, κάκεινον τιμωρήσεσθε. μὴ γὰρ ὡς θεῶ νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ
 τούτου, δι' ἣν ταῦτα παρόντα πεπηγένοι πράγματα ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις
 ἦν. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν κείνον καὶ δέδιεν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν
 τὸν Φίλιππον εἰδένων νῦν δοκούντων οἰκειῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα περ
 αὐτῷ δυνάμει καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἐνι, ταῦτα κὰν τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου
 θῶς μὲν οἶεται, λατρεῖ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπηχε μένοιτο πάντα ταῦτα νῦν,
 ἰς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔχοντ' ἀποστροφὴν διὰ τὴν ὑμέτεραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥαθυ-
 πάντα τὸν τύπον τῆς αἰτίας, ἣν ἀποθέσθαι φημι δεῖν ἤδη. ὄρατε γὰρ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 κείνου νῦν ὄντων ἐβελήσθητε, τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἀνθρώπος, ὅς
 ἰ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβελήσθητε, ὧ αἰρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ'
 ὧ Φίλιππος τότε πειθεῖται καὶ λόγους ὑπερηφάνους, ὡς φασί, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός
 μείν ἔστιν Ἀθηναῖον ἔχων ἂ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι
 ὧ χώρας ἔρημον ὀλιγοπεριβάλλεται καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ
 ἔπραξεν, οὐδὲ τοσοῦτον ἀποβῆσιν περιστοιχίζεται. πότ' οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ὄρατε ἂ χρεῖ πράξετε; ἐπειδὴν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὴν νῆ Δι'
 α τὰ χωρία ἀθλα ἀνάγκη τις ἦ. νῦν δὲ τί χρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐγὼ
 χει τοῖς παροῦσιν ἂν γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 αἰ κινδυνεύειν τὰ πρᾶγμάτων αἰσχύνῃν εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθε, εἰπέ μοι, περιμόντες
 ενος τῇ γνώμῃ πάντων πυνθάνεσθαι, λέγεται τι καινόν; γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν τι και-
 τις ἔχοι πολέμου πρότερον ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίου καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν

Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀσθ
 νεί. τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέ
 ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἅπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τ
 πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ῥώμ
 τοσοῦτον ἐπνήξῃται ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. καί
 καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθῃ καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν ὑπάρξαι, ἢ
 αἰεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ
 γάσαιο ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμα
 τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες ὅπως βούλεσθε διοικήσασθε, ὡς
 νῦν ἔχετε οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι
 ναισθ' ἂν, ἀπρητημένοι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμα
 Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας ὑπάρχ
 ἅπαντας ἐτοίμως, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν καὶ πεπεισμένων, πα
 μαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς ἦν ἀπαλλάξαι
 τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσ
 καὶ πόρους οὐστίνας χρημάτων, καὶ τᾶλλα ὡς ἂν μοι βέλτισ
 καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι, καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι
 γειν, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσοῦτον. ἐπει
 ἅπαντα ἀκούσητε, κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε· μ
 ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τι καὶνὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλ
 με τὰ πράγματα ἡγείσθω. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ταχὺ καὶ τήμερον εἰπε
 τες μάλιστα εἰς δέον λέγουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τά γε ἦδη γεγε
 μένα τῇ νυκτὶ βοηθεία κωλύσαι δυναθεύμεν· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν δε
 τίς πορισθεῖσα παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν διαμείναι δυνή
 ται, ἕως ἂν ἡ διαλυσώμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν πόλεμον ἢ περιγε
 μεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πύσχοιμεν
 κακῶς. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύον εἶ
 ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεται τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω μεγάλη
 τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα ἦδη τὸν ἔλεγχον δώσει· κριταὶ δ' ὑμεῖς ἔσο
 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις πε
 κοντα παρασκευάσασθαι φημι δεῖν, εἰτ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω τὰς γ
 μας ἔχειν ὡς, εἴαν τι δέη, πλευστέον εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβά
 μακρὸν τ

χῆς ἀλλήλοις. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ξένους εἶναι κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἰππέας διακοσίους, καὶ τούτων πεντήκοντα Ἀθηναίους ἄμφοισιν
 τοῦλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατεύεσθαι πηλί-
 μένους· καὶ ἰππαγωγὸς τούτοις. εἶεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις εἰς τὴν φυλά-
 ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα· δεῖ γὰρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, ἡμετέροις Ἀθηναίοις,
 ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις πλέη. πόθεν οἰκείον
 δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφή γενήσεται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω· οὐ μὲν Ἀθηναίων τῆς
 δεῖξω, ἐπειδὴν, διότι τηλικαύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πό-
 καὶ πολίτας τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω. καὶ οὐ τὸν

Τοσαύτην μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιχειροτον-
 νῶν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῃ παραταξομένην, ὡς ἴσως
 ληστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῃ τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι ἡμετέρων
 τὴν πρώτην· οὐ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον αὐτὴν, οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθότο δὴ ἡ
 οὐδὲ τροφή, οὐδὲ παντελῶς ταπεινὴν εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας ἐπιχεροτόντων
 παρῆναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν τι κρόνον τι π
 ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὐ Πολύστρατον ἔκασιν εἰς
 ἡγήτο καὶ Ἰφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς, καὶ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρίους
 ὑμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι· καὶ οἶδα ἀκούων ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων ἰσχυρίους
 παραταττόμενοι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐνίκων οὗτοι οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἡμετέροις
 ἐκείνων. ἐξ οὗ δ' αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ τὰ ξενικά ὑμῖν στρατεύεσθαι ἴσως
 τοὺς φίλους νικᾶ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, οἱ δ' ἔχθροὶ μείζονος οἰς στρατ
 δέοντος γεγόνασιν. καὶ παρακύψαντα ἐπὶ τὸν γῆς πόλεως πάλαι σαφῶς
 μόν, πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχοῖ μάλλον οἴχεται πλεόντων ἡμετέρων
 δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ, εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρχειν μὴ διδοῦναι δὲ τῶν σ
 μισθόν. τί οὖν κελεύω; τὰς προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι
 γοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἡμετέρων
 κείους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας τῶν στρατηγουμένων παρακαταστήσαντας, ἐπει
 τας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε γέλωσ ἔσθ' ὡς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν. εἰς ἡμετέροις
 ἔφοιτό τις ὑμᾶς, εἰρήνην ἄγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; μὰ Διὸς ἡμετέροις
 ἡμεῖς γε, εἴποιτ' ἂν, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν. οὐκ ἔχεται αὐτ' ἔστιν.
 νεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ στρατηγὸς καὶ οὐδέ τις ἄλλο
 ἀρχους καὶ ἰππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιούσιν; πλὴν αὐταῖς ἐπιστο

ναι κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς
 γεντήκοντα Ἀθηναῖοι μπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποίων· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες
 τὸν τρόπον στρατείας πηλίους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ
 τί πρὸς τοῦτοισ ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν, ἱπάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν ἄρχον-
 δύναμις πλέη. πόσις οἰκείους εἶναι ἢ ἢ ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ δύναμις; ἀλλ'
 αὐτὸ φράσω ἢ μὲν Δῆμμον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἱππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ
 ἢ οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν;
 κελύω, διδάξω. καὶ οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν εἶδει
 διὰ ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ἐχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ.

ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἠγείσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν
 κτημάτων, πόσα καὶ πόθεν ἔσται, μάλιστα ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι.
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸν τοῦτο διὰ καὶ περαίνω. χρήματα τοῖνυν, ἔστι μὲν ἡ τροφή,
 εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας σιτηρέσιον μόνον τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ, τάλαντα ἑνὴνκοντα, καὶ
 ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν τι πρὸς, δέκα μὲν ναυσὶ ταχείαις τετταράκοντα τάλαντα,
 ἴλι, οὗ Πολύστρατος κοσιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν μναὶ τοῦ μηνὸς ἑκάστου, στρατιώταις δὲ
 ἄλλοι τινὲς, καὶ αἰσχυλοῖς τοσαῦθ' ἕτερα, ἵνα δέκα τοῦ μηνὸς ὁ στρατιώτης
 ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίαις σιτηρέσιον λαμβάνῃ, τοῖς δ' ἱππέυσι διακοσίοις οὔσιν,
 ἢ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἑνὶ τριάκοντα δραχμαῖς ἑκάστος λαμβάνῃ τοῦ μηνὸς, δώδεκα
 καὶ ὑμῖν στρατείας τάλαντα. εἰ δὲ τις οἶεται μικρὰν ἀφορμὴν εἶναι σιτηρέσιον
 δ' ἔχθροὶ μείζους τοῖς στρατενομένοις ὑπάρχειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ
 τὸν γῆς πόλεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς σαφῶς ὅτι, τοῦτ' ἂν γένηται, προσποριεῖ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτὸ
 ὅτι οἶεται πλεονέκτημα ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀδικοῦν
 ἄρχειν μὴ διδοῦν τῶν συμμάχων, ὥστ' ἔχειν μισθὸν ἐντελεῖ. καγὼ δὲ συμ-
 κελεῖν καὶ τοῦ στρατῶν ἄλλων ἐθελοντῆς πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν ἔτοιμος, ἔαν μὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως
 ἢ καὶ στρατιώταις κρη. πόθεν οὖν ὁ πόρος τῶν χρημάτων. ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν κελύω
 ἢ ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμῆτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

ΠΟΡΟΥ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δεδυνήμεθα εὐρεῖν,
 αὐτ' ἔστιν. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπιχειροτονήτε τὰς γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν
 ἀρέσκη χειροτονήσατε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι κἀν
 αἰς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμῆτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις.

Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολλὸ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ δὲ κήρη, ἢ τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλευσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἰσχυροῦς, τῆς χώρας πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθεῖσθε, καὶ λογισασθε, ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὕραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαβόντων καὶ τῶν βάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τῶν ἄλλων, αἰετὸν χειμῶνα ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἥνικ' ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκεῖσε ἀφικέσθαι, ἀπομειοῦνθαι. δεῖ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἑνα τῶν ὑστεριουμένων γὰρ ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυναμῇ τὴν οὐκ ἔχουσαν. ὑπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Δῆμος, ἡ δὲ δύναμις ὑμῶν καὶ Θάσψ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, καὶ Πάγαροι καὶ αἰς κοιλίαιμινας καὶ σίτους καὶ ἄχρη στρατεύματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχει, ἡ δὲ δύναμις τῆν δ' ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥάδιον ἔσται, ἡ δὲ δύναμις τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ λαβῶν τῶν ἐμποριῶν στόμασι ῥαδίως ἔσται.

Ἄ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτοῦ οὐ τούτων κύριος καταστάς ὑφ' ὑμῶν βουλεύσεται. ἂ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξαι δεῖ παρ' ὑμῶν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἂ ἐγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἀντιπρόσωποι ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πορίσῃτε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἂ λέγω, εἴτα ἔσονται, καὶ τὰλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τὰς χωρὶς ἰππέας, ἐντελῆ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, νόμῳ κατακλείσῃτε ἐπιπέσει ταῦτα πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ ποριστῶν γὰρ τοῦ γιγνόμενου, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ ἀπαιτοῦντες, παύσεσθ' αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευόμενοι ἡμετέροις ἡμετέροις πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μὲν, ὃ ἂν ὑμῖν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσειεν ἡμῶν ἐξέλκει ἔστι δ' οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμῆ συμμάχων ἀποστέλλειν ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλείοντας τὴν θάλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ ὡς τούτων, τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἰμβρον ἐμβαλὼν αὐτοὶ τὰ πολυμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους ὄχετ' ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Γεραιστῷ ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρήματ' ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖα ἡμῶν πράγματα Μαραθῶνα ἀπέβη καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὄχετ' ἔχων τῶν λόγων

τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἀποστήσει, ἡμεῖς δ' οὔτε ταῦτα δύνασθε κωλύειν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς
 ἄλλους, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποβήσθε, οὐδ' ἂν προηήσθε, βοηθεῖν. καίτοι τί δήποτε, ὡ
 δεύετε, καὶ λογίζασθε, ὅτι οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἐργ
 οῦς τὰ πολλὰ προλαβόντων καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἀεὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγ
 νασθαι, ἅντε δεινοὶ λάχωσιν ἂν τε ιδιώται οἱ τοῦτων ἑκατέρων
 αἰμέθα ἐκέισε ἀφικόμενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκετε χρήματα ὅσα οὐδ'
 βοηθείαις πολεμοῦ ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν
 ἐσθὲν συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνατὴν οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν ἀπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους
 θαι τῆ δυνάμει Δήμω ἵσταντας ὑμῖν ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν
 ο τῆ τόπῳ νήσοις, καὶ Παγασῶν, τὸν εἰς Ποτίδαιαν; οἷ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα
 εὔματι πάνθ' ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῶν τέτακται, καὶ πρόουδεν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς
 ἢ γενέσθαι βράδιον ἀρχηγὸς ἢ γυμνασιάρχης τῆς φυλῆς, πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ
 ἢ χώρα καὶ πρὸς τῶν λαβόντα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ' ἀόρισ
 τὸν ἐν τοῦτοις ἡμέληται, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ
 ἡμεῖς, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτου παρασκευῆ ἄτακτα ἀδιόρθωτα ἀόριστα ἅπαντα.
 λείσεται. ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ ἀγαθοῦ ἅμα ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχου καθίσταμεν καὶ
 ἔγραφα. ἂν ταῦτα ἡμῶν ἀποδοῖς ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πόρου σκο
 πῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἴτα ἡμῶν ὁμιλοῦμεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ
 ας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἴτ' ἐν
 κατακλείσθητε ἐπὶ τῶν ταῦτα μέλλεται, προαπόλωλε τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἂν ἐκπλέωμεν.
 ταμίαι καὶ ποριστῶν γὰρ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσ
 στρατηγοῦ τὸν λόγον, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν
 ῶν βουλευόμενοι ἀσυνεπῆ καὶ εἰρωνεῖαν. ἄς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις
 ο πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς ἂν ἴμεθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἶαί τ' οὔσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν
 πόρων ἀφαιρήσειν αἰσίων ἐξελέγχονται. ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἔβρεως ἐλήλυθεν ὥστ'
 ἢ πολεμῆ συμμάχουσιπέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἤδη τοιαύτας ἐπιστολάς.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Τούτων, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἀληθῆ μὲν
 ἔστι τὰ πολλὰ, ὡς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ἡδέα ἀκούειν.
 Ἄλ' εἰ μὲν ὅσα ἂν τις ὑπερβῆ τῶ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ
 ἢ πράγματα ὑπερβῆσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν. εἰ δ'
 ἢ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ἢ μὴ προσήκουσα, ἔργω ζημίᾳ γίνεται,

αἰσχρόν ἐστι φενακίζειν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους οὐσαν
 ἂν ἢ δυσχερῆ πάντων ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ τοῖσι γινώσκοντι ὅτι γινώσκουσι
 δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς πολέμῳ χρωμένους ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν ἀπο-
 πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὡς περ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐξίμενοι
 ἀξιώσειε τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρῶτον ἰσχυρότερον ;
 μάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους, ἢ ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα προτιθέμεθα ;
 τηται καὶ μὴ τὰ συμβάντα ἀναγκάζονται διώκειν. ὑμεῖς οὖν οὐκ ἔτι πρῶτον
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύναμιν ἀπάντων ἔχοντες, προτιθέμεθα
 ρεις, ὑπλίτας, ἱππέας, χρημάτων πρόσδοτον, τοῦτων μὲν μέγιστος τῶν λυσιτε-
 τῆς τῆμερον ἡμέρας οὐδενὶ πρόποτε εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε, οὐδέποτε γινώσκοντες ὅσοι
 δ' ἀπολείπεσθε, ὡς περ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω πολέμῳ μὴ πάντως
 Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγεῖς ἀεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχει τὸν αὐτὸν συναγ-
 κὰν ἐτέρωστε πατάξῃ τις ἐκεῖσε εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλεσθε τὰς ἀπο-
 δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον οὐτ' οἶδεν οὐτ' ἐθέλει. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γινώσκοντων γὰρ
 Χερρόνησῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκεῖσε βοθηεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, καὶ τοῖσι τεθρο-
 ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκεῖσε, ἐὰν ἄλλοθί που, συμπαραθέτετε ἄνω κατέρωθεν, οὐκ ἔτι
 καὶ στρατηγεῖσθε μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αἰσχυρότερον ὅσα
 συμφέρον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων προτιθέμεθα ἕνεκα αἰτίας
 αἵτε οὐδὲν, πρὶν ἂν ἢ γεγενημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι πύθησθε ἀπόλωσθε
 ταῦτα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν ἐνῆν· νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦκει ἀπονομίσθων
 ἀκμῆν, ὡστ' οὐκέτ' ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὃ αὐτὸν ἐπιδομένους
 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυρόμενος τὸν ἂν τύχηται
 φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ. εἰ γὰρ ἔχωσθε Πῶς οὐκ
 κατέστραπται καὶ προεἰληφεν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἤθελε καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῦς
 ἔπραττεν ἔτι, ἀποχωρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ ἐξ ὧν αἰσχυρόμενων κιν-
 καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχίστα ὠφληκότες ἂν ἦμεν διακινούμενοι μόν-
 σία. νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν ἀεὶ τινι καὶ τοῦ πλείονος ὀρεγόμενοι δ' εἰς τὸ
 ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιθ' ὑμᾶς, εἴπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνωσμένων ἕκαστος
 θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμείται μήτε ὀργιστὸς ἔχθροῦ
 ται, ὄρων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ
 γεγενημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρῆσθαι Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τῶν αἰρουμένων

παντ' ἀναβαλλομένους οὐσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ
 ἔργων, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτον ὅτι γ' οὐ στησεται, δῆλον, εἰ μὴ τις κωλύσει. εἶτα τοῦτ'
 ὀλέμῳ χρωμένους ἀπονοοῦμεν, καὶ τρυφῆς κενὰς καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος ἐλπί-
 ῖ μπροσθεν εἶναι τὰς ἀν' ἀποστείλιτε, πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα;
 ἔρ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐξίμεν αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τιμι στρατιωτῶν οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ
 οὕτω καὶ τῶν προσηύμεθα; ἤρετό τις. εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρά, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν
 οἰοῖς δοκῆ, ταῦτα προσηύμεθα; ἤρετό τις. εὐρήσει τὰ σαθρά, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν
 ται διώκειν. ὑμεῖς οὖν πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος, ἀν' ἐπιχειρῶμεν. ἀν' μέντοι
 πάντων ἔχοντες, τρυφώμεθα οἴκοι, λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιωμένων ἀλλή-
 ἰδον, τούτων μὲν μέγιστος τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόν-
 οντι κέχρησθε, οὐδέποτε. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἀν' οἶμαι, μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλή,
 οἴουσιν, οὕτω πολεμῶν μὴ πᾶσα παρῆ, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης
 εἰ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχειν ἀν' συναγωνίζεται. ὅποι δ' ἀν' στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα κενὸν
 εἶρες' προβάλλουσιν τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψητε, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν
 ἔλει. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀν' ὀφίων γίνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ καταγελώσωιν, οἱ δὲ σύμ-
 ρηθεῖν ψηφίζεσθε, οἱ τοὶ τεθνάσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ
 παραθεῖτε ἄνω κάθισιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἓνα ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναί ποιε ταυθ' ὑμῖν πράξει
 ἔλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν ἀν' ὅσα βούλεσθε. ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν
 ὄν πραγμάτων προσηύμενα αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖνα ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματα ἐκ τού-
 ἰγνόμενόν τι πύθησιν ἀπόλωλεν. ὅταν γὰρ ἡγήται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων
 δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἦκει ἐπιμίσθων ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀν' ἐκεῖνος πράξει πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 οἱ θεῶν τις, ὦ ἀν' ἀκούομενοι ῥαδίως ἐνθάδ' ὦσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ ὧν ἀν' ἀκούσητε ὁ
 εως αἰσχνόμενος πρὸς ἀν' τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρῆ προσδοκᾶν;
 ἴπφω. εἰ γὰρ ἔχω. Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ἔχειν ἤθελε καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας καὶ μάρτυρας τῶν στρατη-
 δοκεῖ ἐξ ὧν αἰσχνόμενων καὶ δικαστὰς οἰκαδ' ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ
 ληκότες ἀν' ἡμεν διακούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὄραν.
 πλείονος ὀρεγόμενοι δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἦκει τὰ πράγματα αἰσχνύνης ὥστε τῶν στρατη-
 γάσιν ἀπεγνώσθαι ὧν ἕκαστος δις καὶ τρίς κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ
 θυμείται μῆτε ὀρεγόμενοι ἔχθροὺς οὐδέεις οὐδ' ἀπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου
 ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου μᾶ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδριποδιτῶν καὶ λυποδουτῶν θάνατον μᾶλ-
 λιππον, τὴν δὲ τῶν αἰρούνται τοῦ προσήκοιτος. κακούργου μὲν γὰρ ἔστι κρι-

θέντ' ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δ' οἱ μὲν περιούνητες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον πρῶτον τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν, οἱ δὲ ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεμον τεχνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ λόγους πλάττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκέκον μεθ' ἡμῶν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὄνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τὴν τ' ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυσόντων ὄροντα καὶ τὰς πεπραγμένους ἐπηρμένον, οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δι' οὕτω προεβούλευσθαι εἶναι πράττειν ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν εἰδέναι τί μὲν ἔστι ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνοι· ἀνοητότατοι γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. ἀλλ' ἂν ἀφέντες ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολλὸν ὑβρίζει, καὶ ἅπανθ' ὅσα πρότερόν τι ἠλπίσαμεν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καθ' ἡμῶν εἴρηται, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστὶν, ἵνα μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ἐνθάδ' ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἂν ταῦτα εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντα ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωνκότεσ καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀνοητοῦ ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, εἰ μὴ προσέχηται τοῦ νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πρότερον πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην ποιῆσαι, ἵνα γινῆται οὗτοσ, ἀνοητοῦ ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, εἰ μὴ προσέχηται τοῦ νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πρότερον πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην ποιῆσαι, ἵνα γινῆται οὗτοσ, ἀνοητοῦ ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, εἰ μὴ προσέχηται τοῦ νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πρότερον πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην ποιῆσαι, ἵνα γινῆται οὗτοσ, ἀνοητοῦ ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, εἰ μὴ προσέχηται τοῦ νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πρότερον πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην ποιῆσαι, ἵνα γινῆται οὗτοσ, ἀνοητοῦ ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, εἰ μὴ προσέχηται τοῦ νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πρότερον πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην ποιῆσαι, ἵνα γινῆται οὗτοσ, ἀνοητοῦ ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, εἰ μὴ προσέχηται τοῦ νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἄλλοτε πρότερον πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην ποιῆσαι, ἵνα γινῆται οὗτοσ, ἀνοητοῦ ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι φαῦλα, εἰ μὴ προσέχηται τοῦ νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι.

Ἰαρινεῖ δ
 ποτεῖν τὸ
 θαι καὶ προ
 λημον· ἐπι
 λησι τὸν
 σίν. ἐπαγ
 οντας, ἀπορ
 οῦτοι καὶ τ
 ν Φιλιππικᾶ
 μεθε πρέσβε
 λλουσιν αὐτ
 ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγ
 εῖσθαι, καὶ
 οὐ καὶ Ἀργεῖ
 τοὶ τὸν δῆμο
 οὺς τέ ἐστι
 αντιῶται. ἀ
 εως καὶ πρὸς
 κεδαιμονίοις
 στασιν καὶ μ
 αια πράττειν
 οτήκασιν μὲν
 πατήσθαι· ο
 λίαν οὐδεμίαν
 σιν, ἀλλὰ Ἀθ
 οντες ὡς Φίλιπ
 τοῦτο ὁ Δημ
 τὰς δώσειν, φ
 ἴνους καὶ τὰς
 ἰον καὶ ἀνοίξε

Γ Α Τ Α Φ Ι Λ Ι Π Π Ο Υ Β .

Υ Π Ο Θ Ε Σ Ι Σ .

Παραινεί διὰ τούτου τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ ῥήτωρ πολέμιον ὑποπτεύειν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ μὴ πάνυ πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐγείρ-
 θαι καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ εὐ τρεπίεσθαι πρὸς
 ἄλλον· ἐπιβουλεύειν γὰρ αἰτιᾶται καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
 Ἕλλησι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καταμαρτυρεῖν τὰς πράξεις
 αὐτοῦ· ἐπαγγέλλεται δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίσεις δώσειν πρὸς τινὰς πρέσβεις
 ἰσχυροτάτας, ἀποροῦντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι ποτε ἀποκρίνασθαι δεῖ· πόθεν
 οὗτοι καὶ περὶ τίνων ἤκουσιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ μὲν οὐ δηλοῦται, ἐκ δὲ
 τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἱστοριῶν μαθεῖν δυνατόν· κατὰ γὰρ τούτων τὸν καιρὸν
 ἐπεμψε πρέσβεις ὁ Φίλιππος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, αἰτιώμενος ὅτι δια-
 ἠλοῦσιν αὐτὸν μάτην πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐπαγγελάμενον αὐτοῖς
 εἶναι καὶ μεγάλα, ψευδόμενον δέ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑπεσχῆσθαι φησὶν οὐδὲ
 εἶσθαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐλέγχους ἀπαιτεῖ· ἐπεμψαν δὲ μετὰ Φιλί-
 ππου καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀθήνας, αἰτιώμενοι καὶ
 αὐτοὶ τὸν δῆμον ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις καταδουλοῦμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον
 οὐκ οὐκ ἔστι καὶ συγκροτεῖ, αὐτοῖς δὲ περὶ ἐλευθερίας πολεμοῦσιν
 ἀντιοῦται, ἀποροῦσιν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκ-
 ρίσεις καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις· πρὸς μὲν τὰς πόλεις, ὅτι εἶνοι μὲν εἰσι
 Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετὰ Φιλίππου
 ἵστασιν καὶ μισοῦσι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀποφήνασθαι δύνανται
 αἰτιᾶσαι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι διη-
 ῥτήκασιν μὲν ὧν ἠλπισαν, οὐ μὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου γε αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσιν
 ἀπατήσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐνέγραψεν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐπαγ-
 γελάσαι οὐδεμίαν, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἰδίων πρέσβειν ἐποιήσατό τινα ὑπόσ-
 τας, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων τινὲς ἦσαν οἱ τὸν δῆμον εἰς ἐλπίδα καταστή-
 ναι ὡς Φίλιππος Φωκέας σώσει καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων ὕβριν καταλύσει.
 τούτου ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἀποκρίσεων μνησθεὶς ἐπαγγέλλεται μὲν
 πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, φησὶ δὲ ὅτι δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς τὴν δυσχέρειαν πεποιηκότας
 ἀποκρίσεις ἀπαιτεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἀπατήσαντας, φησὶ, τὸν
 Φίλιππον καὶ ἀνοίξαντας Φιλίππῳ Πύλας· ταῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸν Αἰσχίνην

αίνιτται, προκατασκευαζόμενος, ὡς φασί, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν τῆς παραπροσβείας, ἣν ὕστερον ἐνεστήσατο, καὶ προδιαβάλλον αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνωνται περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, αἰεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὀρῶ φαινόμενους καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἅπαντας αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ' οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῶν δευτέρων οὐδ' ὧν ἕνεκα ταῦτ' ἀκούειν ἄξιον. ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτο ἡμῶν προηγήμενα τυγχάνει πάντα τὰ πρῶτα τῆ πόλει ὥσθ' ὅσοις τις ἂν μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχη Φιλίππον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαίοντα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιβουλεύοντα, τοσοῦτ' ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην ἀποβλέποντες, οἷον αἰτίον δὲ τούτων, ὅτι πάντας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύει καὶ πράξεισιν, οὐδὲ δίκαιον λόγους δέον· πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες τούτων μὲν ἀφῆκεν ἡμεῖς, καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν, τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθεισιν, ὑμεῖς ὀκνοῦντες, οἷα ποιεῖ δὲ, ὡς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ, καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξέτελεσαν οἱ Ἕλληες, ἐπειθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἶποιτε δικαίον λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλου συνείητε, ἅμεινον Φιλίππου παρεκείνησθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ' ἂν ἐκείνον πράττειν ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐπὶ τῆ πόλει κενεῖσθε, ἂν τι συμβαίνει διήρημα ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῶν, οἷον οἰμαί, καὶ ἴσως εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἑκάτεροι δισ-οἴβετε καὶ περιεργάζεσθαι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ σπουδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἅμεινον ἑκατέρους ἔχει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἰ πράξασθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν, ἡμῶν δ' οἱ λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιοτέρα ὑμῶν ἐξαρκεῖ, ῥάδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσεστι τῷ πράγματι· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ προεπιβουλεύειν ὑμῶν ἐπιβουλεύοντα ἔτι πορρωτέρῳ λήσει πάντας ἡμᾶς, μηδ' ἐπιστήσεται τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐργασίᾳ μείζων δυνάμει πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀντάραι δυνήσομεθα, οὐχ ὁ αἰσθητικὰ τῶν ἡμῶν τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἡμῶν χάριτος μηδ

αὐτοῦ κατηγορίας
προδιαβάλλων αὐτὸν

αὐτοῦ ἀπασί καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώσοντα
τῶν ῥάστων καὶ τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετόν.

Πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
ἴδῃ καὶ ὅσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος, καὶ μηδένα οἶεται κίνδυνον
ἔχειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι,
καὶ δεηθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς
λογισμοὺς ἀκούσαί μου διὰ βραχέων, δι' οὓς τάναντία ἐμοὶ
ἐπέστηκε προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν ἐχθρὸν ἠγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, ἔν
ἐμὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθήτε, ἂν δ' οἱ
ἀρρῶντες καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ τούτοις προσθήσθε. ἐγὼ
οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογιζόμεαι, τίνας ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος
τῇ πόλει ὡσθ' ὅσον ἔσται μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην κατέσται; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσει
ἐπιπραγμάτων. τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ἂ Ἰθηβαίοις συμ-
μῆρι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ' ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι
τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων, καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἠσυχίαν
καὶ πράξεις, οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδὲν, εἶδε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρῃ πόλει
τούτων μὲν ἀφέσει καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ
τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν οὐσίσειεν, ὑφ' οὗ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ὠφελείας τῶν
ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ προείσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου
λόγον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι
ἐν Φιλίππου παρεγγύοντες, καὶ πάνθ' ἂ προσήκει προορῶμενοι, ὁμοίως ἐναντιώ-
μεθα ταῦτα ἐφ' ὧν ἐπείσθε, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῆ πράττειν, ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ πολε-
μῶν ἀναγκαῖον οὖντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς δὲ Ἰθηβαίους ἠγείτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντι-
ποιεῖτε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ εἴσειεν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν
ἐν ἑαυτῷ μὲν αἰ πράξει αὐτὸν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξῃ καὶ διακολύσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἐν δικαιοτέρῃ ὑμῶν συστρατεύσειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ. καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ
τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ταῦτα ὑπειληφῶς εὖ ποιεῖ. ὁ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι
ἐμὲν καὶ μὴ προσεῖν ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. κέκρισθε γὰρ ἐκ τού-
των ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ
ἐκείνην εἰκαία τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέσθαι, μηδ' ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγοντες ἀρίστος μηδ' ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας εὖνοιαν. καὶ

ταῦτ' εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπέληφε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων μὲλλει
καὶ Θεβαίων ὡς ἑτέρως, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ παρόντα ὄρων, ἀλλὰ ὑποποιοῦσθαι
καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογιζόμενος. εὐρίσκει γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ μὲλλει
ἀκούει τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ τοῖς
ἄρχην Ἑλλήνων ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον ἄλλοι, ἀλλὰ
οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἠνίκ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ δῖον αἰνῶν
ὁ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ τούτων κήρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχθρον
ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους καὶ παθεῖν ὅτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας, καὶ τὴν αὐτὸς
μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ' ἅ πάντες μὲν αἰεὶ γλίχονται λέγειν πτεῖσειεν
ἀξίως ἢ οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ καὶ γὰρ παραλείψω δικαίως πρῶτα β
(ἔστι γὰρ μείζω τὰ κείνων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς Θεβαίους, τ
Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας ὧν νῦν π
τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέροισι πάντων δ'
ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελεῖν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ ὅ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ τῶν πόλεως
Ἑλλησι σκεφομένους. ἠγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἔλοιτο φίλος τῷ νῦν γε
ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αἰρήσασθαι, εἰ δ' ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεκείτου δ' ἀντ
γούς ἔξειεν τῆς αὐτοῦ πλεονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν χρόνον, κ
καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἰρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γε ὄρᾳ πλείονα τιν ὑμετέρο
αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὐσας· οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὐρησάτω γὰρ Ἀμφί
τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἠγεῖ
μονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ὄντα καὶ
ἔτυχεν.

Ἄλλὰ νῆ Δί', εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδὼς, οὐ πλεονεξασθῆναι τι
ονεξίας ἔνεκεν οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκης πρό
τῷ δικαιοτέρῳ τοῖς Θεβαίοις ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ οὐκ ἀλλοῦ θεραπε
μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πρῶτα βουλομ
Μεσσηνίαν Δακεδαίμονιους ἀφίεναι κελεύων πῶς ἂν Ὀρχηστρήσειεν οἷ
μενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θεβαίοις παραδοῦς τῷ δίκαια νομίζοντι ἐν προόψει
ζειν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιθηκέναι σκήψαιτο ;

Ἄλλ' ἐβιάσθη νῆ Δία (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστ' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ ἄλλοις ἔμοι
παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἰππέων καὶ τῶν Θεβαίων ὅπλα καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰρή
τῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθεῖς, συνεχώρησε ταῦτα. καλῶς. οὐκοῦν φασὶν Πῶς γὰρ

δε καὶ κατ' Ἀργείων μὲλλεν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ
 παρόντα ὄρων, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυροποιοῦσι περιούτους τινὲς ὡς Ἐλάτειαν τειχιεῖ. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα
 εἰ γὰρ, οἶμαι, καὶ μὲλλει καὶ μελλήσει γε, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις
 αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις συμβάλλειν οὐ
 βασιλεῖ, οὐ μόνον ἀλλεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει
 ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ ἴσταν μὲν ἔχων αὐτός ἐστι προσδόκιμος. τοὺς μὲν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναιρεῖ, οὓς δ' ἀπό-
 ὑπομείναντας, καὶ πᾶσι αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκέας ἦν σώζει; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα
 εἰ γλίχονται λέγειν πεύσειεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἠγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὔτ' εἰ
 παραλείψω δικαίως πρῶτα βιασθεῖς ἄκων ἔπραξεν οὔτ' ἂν εἰ νῦν ἀπεγίνωσκε
 οὐκ ἂν εἶποι), τοὺς ἄλλους ἑαυτοῦ βαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ'
 συστρατεύσαντο ἵνα ἂν νῦν ποιεῖ, κἀκεῖνα ἐκ προαιρέσεως δῆλός ἐστι ποιήσας.
 οὐδ' οὖν ἀμφοτέρωθεν πάντων δ', ἂν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῆ, πάντα πραγματεῖται κατὰ
 ἡμετέρας κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως συντηρητικῶν. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τι-
 νῶς ἔλοιτο φίλοισιν ἡμῶν γὰρ δὴ συμβαίνει. λογίσεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται,
 προσθεῖτο, συνεπὶ τούτου δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπέλειψεν ἡμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν
 ἐκείνους ἀντ' ἡμῶν χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς ἄριστα σίνουδεν αὐτῶ· οἷς γὰρ
 εἰς γε ὄρῃ πλείονος ἡμῶν ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα τᾶλλα ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται.
 τιν' ἀρχὴν εὐρησάτω γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ' ἂν οἶκοι μένειν
 ἔστηκεν· οὐδ' ἂν ἡμῶν βαίως ἠγάγετο. ἀμφοτέρα οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἡμῖν ἐπιβου-
 λῶντα καὶ ἡμᾶς αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ' ἡμᾶς ὑπο-
 μείναντων, δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν νομίζοι καὶ παρώξυνται,
 οὐτ' εἰδὼς, οὐκ ἔμελλεν εἰσεσθῆαι τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἂν μὴ φθίσῃ
 οὐτ' ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος πρότερος. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέσθηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ οὐκ ἔμελλεν θεραπεύει τινὰς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς
 ἡμῶν εἰπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τὰ βουλομένους τούτοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντα
 ἡμῶν πῶς ἂν ὀρθῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπῆσεν οἶεται; διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ'
 οὐκ ἔμελλεν εἰσεσθῆαι. καίτοι σωφρονοῦσιν γε καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ
 παραδείγματα ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς
 ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιον δ' ἴσως καὶ πρὸς
 ἡμῶν ἔστιν εἰρησθαι.
 ὡς. οὐκοῦν φασὶν. Πῶς γὰρ οἴεσθ', ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες Μεσσηνιοί, δυσχερῶς

ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἴ τις τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἠφίστατο, καὶ πᾶσι ἡς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ποτιδαίαν δ' ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβαλόντων, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνήρητο, τὴν χώραν δ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐκείνους ἐδεδώκει καρπούσθαι; ἀρα προσδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τὰς παρ' ἐμῶν αὐτὰ πείσεσθαι, ἢ λέγοντος ἂν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθαι ἡμεῖς οἴομαι; ἀλλ' ὁμως, ἔφην ἐγὼ, μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρπῶν ὡς ἐσόμενοι πολὺν τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται, αἰσχυρῶς ποιεῖν ἐκτεσσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ἀπαραντίχῃ ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις ἐπινοοῖσιν μὲν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους αὐταὶ λίαν ὀμιλία. τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοὶ Περὶ μὲν ἀρ' οἴεσθ', ἔφην, ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πᾶσι δουλεύσεσθαι Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν ἐπινοῦντ' ἂν εἶναι τὴν δεκαδαρχίαν ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσόδους παραιρήσεσθαι; Ἦν μὲν οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔσται ὑποσχέσθαι εἰδέναι. ἡμεῖς δ', ἔφην ἐγὼ, δίδοντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι μὲν οὐκ θεωρεῖτε Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρομένον ἡμεῖς οἶδ' ὅτι ἀπεύχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δι, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν νῆ Δί, ἐφ' ἧσιν εἰρήνη ἐγὼ, παντοδαπὰ εὐρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλικὴν καὶ σκυρῶντα τὰ τῆς τηριαίας, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ τάφροι καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσα ὅτ' ἐγὼ τοιαῦτα. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἅπαντα χειροποίητα, καὶ διαφροσεβίας τῆς νης προσδέεται· ἐν δέ τι κοινὸν ἢ φύσις τῶν εὐφρονοῦντων ὄντων, προὔλη ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, ὃ πᾶσι μὲν ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν ἐπινοίας οὐδὲ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἀστραπος καὶ τί οὖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀπεξέμισθ' ἂν ἴεσθε· ἂν ταύτην σώζητε, οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. τί ζητεῖτε λαταῖαις τε ἔφην. ἐλευθερίαν. εἴτ' οὐχ ὄρατε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριωτῶν τῶν αὐτῶν ταύτη καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος τ' Ἀμφιπόλις ἅπας ἐχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως ἡμᾶς ἐντοῦ ἔφην, μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπότην εὐρηματοῖς τοὺς ἀπὸ

κατὰ Φιλίππου καὶ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγε-
 αὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἠφίετο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους παρὰ τῶν πρέσβειων καὶ
 σιλεῖς ἀντεποιούνητον πρότος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὕστερον, ὡς ἕοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
 τοῖκους ἐκβαλῶν, καὶ ὑποσχέονται τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ' ὦν ἐπαγγέλλεται.
 ἀνῆρητο, τὴν χώραν οὐ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἄστοπον, εἰ Μεσσηνιοὶ καὶ Πελοποννησίων
 οσοδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐσθλῶν παρ' ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ' ὀρώσι τι πράξουσιν, ἀλλ'
 πιστεῦσαι οἷεσθε ἡμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες
 ἄλλοτριαν καρπῶν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, ὡς περιστοιχιζέσθε, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν
 στέρονται, αἰσχρῶς ποιεῖν λήσεθ', ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνθ' ὑπομεινάντες. οὕτως
 καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπάραντιχ' ἠδονὴ καὶ ῥαστώνῃ μείζον ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ' ὕστερον
 αἰς ταῖς πολιτείαις ἀνοίσειεν μέλλοντος.

τί δ' οἱ Θετταλαὶ Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον
 ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν ἐβουλεύεσθε, ἂν σωφρονήτε. ἃ δὲ νῦν ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ
 ἡμῶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν ἔχοντ' ἂν εἴητ' ἐψηφισμένοι, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω.

ἢ τὸν τὴν πυλαίαν

Α Π Ο Κ Ρ Ι Σ Ι Σ .

Ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας
 τα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔσθλως ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς ἐπέισθητε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην,
 καὶ ὑποσχομένους ἀλείν. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ' ἂν
 αἰ παρακεκρουμένους οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν
 τοίνυν νῆ Δί', ἐφ' ἧσὶν ἔρχοντ' εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ψεσθε. ἀλλ' ἦν πολὺ τούτων ἀφει-
 οὺς φυλακὴν καὶ σκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ πάλιν γ' ἑτέρους καλεῖν. τίνας;
 ἀφροὶ καὶ τᾶλλ' ὅσοι οὗτ' ἐγὼ γεγονυῖας ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστεράς ἦκων
 ροποιήτα, καὶ διαπρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενακιζομένην τὴν
 τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἄλιν, προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ εἶων πρέσθαι
 ἐν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἡμῶν οὐδὲ Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ἴδωρ πίνων εἰκότως
 οὺς τοὺς τυράννοιστροπος καὶ δύσκολός εἰμι τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ἀπερ-
 ἵτετε, ταύτης ἀπὸ ἡμῶν ἔλαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ Θεσπιᾶς μὲν καὶ
 πάθητε. τί ζητεῖτε; λαταῖαίς τειχειῖ, Ἐθβαίους δὲ παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως, Χερῶν ἄρῳνησον
 ποιν ἄλλοτριωτάτων τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλεσι διορύξει, Εὐβοίαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν
 εὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννον τ' Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει. ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ
 οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως ἡμᾶτος ἐντανθὶ μνημονεύετ' οἶδ' ὅτι ῥηθέντα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ
 δεσπότην εὐρητήσονται τοὺς ἀδικούντας μεμνήσθαι. καὶ τὸ πάντων αἰσχιστον,

καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εὐχόμενοι ἂν ἢ
ταύτην ἐψηφίσασθε· οὕτω τελείως ἐπήχθητε. τί δὴ ταῦτα λέγω καὶ
καλεῖν φημι δεῖν τούτους; ἐγὼ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς τάλαντα ἐξέτασθε
μετὰ τῆς Ἰρρησίας, ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, ἀλλὰ
ἴν' εἰς λουδοριάν ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαντῶ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον ποιήσω, καὶ μετὰ
ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐπιπέσειν.
παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν παρὰ Φιλίππον. οὐκ ἔστι
ἵνα τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχω. ἀλλ' οἴμαι ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσει Φίλιππος
πράττει μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνί· τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμα ὁρῶν, καὶ οὐχὶ βουλοίμην
μὲν ἂν εἰκάξειν ὀρθῶς, φοβούμεμαι δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἢ τοῦτ' ἤδη. ὅταν οὖν
μηκέθ' ὑμᾶς ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων, μηδ' ἄκούειν
ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ τοῦ δέινος ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ
τεσ ὀράτε καὶ εὖ εἰδῆτε, ὀργίλους καὶ τραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθε
νομίζω. φοβοῦμαι δὴ μὴ τῶν πρέσβειων σεσιωπηκότων, οἵτινες
οἷς αὐτοῖς συνίστασι δεδωροδοκηκότες, τοῖς ἐπανορθοῦν τι περὶ
ρωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους ἀπολωλότων τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περὶ
πεσεῖν συμβῆ. ὀρῶ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνίοις οὐκ εἰς τὰς αἰτίας
αἰτίους, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀφιέντα
ἕως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατακρίνει
κούομεν ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστον ὑμῶν, καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόμενα, ὅμως
ἐπαναμνήσαι βούλομαι τίς ὁ Φωκέας πείσας ὑμᾶς καὶ Πύλους
προέσθαι, ὧν καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁδοῦ
καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος γέγονε, καὶ πεποιθὲς ἐκεί, καὶ
ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἕξω πραγμάτων εἰσέρχεται
τὴν βουλὴν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἰβριδος
Ἀττικὴν πολέμου, ὧς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον, ἐπειδὴν παρεστῶτα
γέγονε δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε ἑαυτοὺς
ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα· οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ δῆλον
κρατήσας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθεν ἂν ποτε στόλῳ Φιλίππου ἄγματοθ' ἕξει
οὔτε περὶ βαδίζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύλας καὶ Φωκέας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὰς
δικαίαι ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγων ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ παρὰ
οὐ παρ' ἐν

αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἰσὶν ἂν ἦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ πολέμῳ δι' ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμη-
 ητε. τί δὴ ταῦτα ταῦτ' οὖν, ὡς μὲν ὑπομνήσαι, νῦν ἰκανῶς εἴρηται, ὡς δ'
 νῦν τοὺς θεοὺς τάλῃ ἐξετασθεὶ μάλιστ' ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτο, ᾧ πάντες θεοί
 οὐκ ἀποκρίψομαι, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι ἂν ἐγωγε, οὐδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολω-
 ῖν ἐξ ἄρχης καιρῶν.

παρὰ Φιλίππου. οὐ
 οὐθ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσει
 τὸ γὰρ πράγμ' ὅτι
 κάζειν ὀρθῶς, φοβί-
 ταν οὖν μηκέθ' ὑμῶν
 ὄντων, μηδ' ἀκούειν
 ἴνους ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ πε-
 ραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι
 ἐν σεσιωπηκότων, ἐν

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ.

ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἡ πληρὴ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ἡ ὑπόθεσις. Φιλίππου γὰρ λόγῳ μὲν
 ἡρῆν ἄγοντος, ἔργῳ δὲ πολλὰ ἀδικούντος, συμβουλεύει τοῖς Ἀθη-
 ναίοις ὁ βῆτωρ ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς κινδύνου
 ἀλλοῦ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπικρεμαμένου καὶ πᾶσι κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

Πολλῶν, ᾧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων ὀλίγου δεῖν
 ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην
 κήσατο, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας
 κεί, καὶ πάντων εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἂν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιούσι
 το, καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεται
 ἔβρωσ καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα πάντα τὰ
 ἔργα καὶ προειμένα ὀρῶ ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ βλάσφημον
 εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δ' ἦ· εἰ καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες ἐβούλοντο οἱ
 ῖοντες καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φαυλότατ' ἐμελλε τὰ
 ἔργαθ' ἔξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἠγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον ἢ νῦν διατε-
 ῖναι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἷτια τοῦ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν,
 οὐ παρ' ἐν οὐδὲ δύο εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματ' ἀφίκται, μάλιστα

δ', ἄνπερ ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς, εὐρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μὲν κεκρά-
 λον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρουμένους, ὧν τινὲς μὲν ἴππησθ' ἔπι-
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται, ταῖς Εἰ μὲν
 φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπι-
 οὔκουσιν οὐδ' ἡμᾶς οἰοῦνται δεῖν ἔχειν, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ κριόντα
 πράγμασιν ὄντας αἰτιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἀποβῆναι αὐτοῖς
 ποιοῦσιν ἢ ὅπως ἢ μὲν πόλις αὐτὴ παρ' αὐτῆς δίκην λήψεται ὡς
 καὶ περὶ τοῦτ' ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δ' ἐξέειπται καὶ λέγειν καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρων ἔ-
 τειν ὅ τι βούλεται. αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται πολιτεαὶ συνήθειαι τῶν ἐν ταῖς
 εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἷται δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τῶν οἱ πο-
 ἀξίω δ', ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἂν τι τῶν ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας πε-
 λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι διὰ τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι πάσας τις
 σκοπεῖτε γὰρ ὧδέ. ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ποιοῦντες
 οὕτω κοινὴν οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥστε ἕγω καὶ δι-
 τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολλὸν ἄλλοτερον εἰ-
 ἂν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ἡμῶν μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας ὀργὴν ἄγε-
 βούλονται λέγοντας ἢ πολιτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεωσιν ἔξωμαι, φ-
 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε. εἴθ' ἴσμεν ἄμφω καὶ
 συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν ἅλα ἐν ταῖς
 κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρῶτοις ἡμᾶς μὲν τὸ
 μασι καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύουσι πολέμου
 εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. εἰ δὲ εἰρήνην ἄ-
 συμφέρι χωρὶς κολακείας ἐβελήσετ' ἀκούειν, ἕτοιμος λέγω, καὶ δέ τις ταῖς
 καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ φαύλως τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προέβλεπται λαβ-
 ὄμως ἔστιν, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὰ δεόντα ποιῆν βούλησθ' ἔτι παρ' ἡμῶν παρ'
 ταῦτα ἐπανορθώσασθαι. καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν ἄλλο τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν
 μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ. τὸ χεῖριστον ἐν τοῖς παρεληλυθότοις ὄνειται,
 τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐβελήσθη.
 τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε μικρὸν οὔτε μέγα οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιεῖτε. Καὶ μὴν
 τῶν ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματ' ἔχει, ἐπεὶ τοι, εἰ πάνθ' ἂν πρὸς τὴν πολεμ-
 ἦκε πραττόντων οὕτω διέκειτο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐλπίς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι Ἀττικὴν
 βελτίω. νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν ῥαθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς

τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μὴ κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκράτηκεν· οὐδ' ἄλλοις, ὧν τινὲς μὲν παρ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κекίνησθε.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ πόλει ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν πόλεμον πρόνοιαν ἔχοντα ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ ἀλλοτρίως οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει τὸν πόλεμον ποιεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὕτως ἀτύπως ἔνοι διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δίκης λήψανται ὥστε πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰ τῶν πόλεμον καὶ λέγειν καὶ πολεμεῖν ἔχοντος καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικούντος ἀνεχέσθαι ἀδικίαι συνήθειαν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις λεγόντων πολλάκις ὡς ἡμῶν τινὲς ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι καὶ διορθώσθαι περὶ τούτου· ἔστι γὰρ δέος μήποθ' ὡς ἀμνοῖμεθα ἡμῶν ὄργην γενέσθαι ἡμῶν τινὲς καὶ συμβουλεύσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀπάντων λέγω καὶ διορίζομαι, εἰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστι τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πόλεμον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἔστι τοῦτο, ἢ ἐντεῦθεν εἰρήνην ἄγειν, φημι ἔγωγε ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα ἀποκρίσασθαι καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξίω· εἰ δ' ἕτερος τὰ πόλεις ἐπιβουλεύει καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ πολεμεῖν ἔχειν καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ πόλεμον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πόλεμον μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῖν προβάλλει, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς πόλεμον ἤδη κινδυνεύειν καὶ πολέμου χρήται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν ἡμῶν τί λέγω. εἰ εἰρήνην ἄγειν, εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, οὐ διαφέρομαι. εἰ πολεμεῖν, ἔτοιμος λέγω, καὶ δεῖς τίς ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει, ἐξ ἧς ἐκεῖνος πάντα καὶ πολλὰ προέβλεπε, λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἡξεί, πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἔπειτα βούλησθ' ἔτι πᾶσι πᾶσι παρ' ὑμῶν, οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγειν. εἰ μὲν ἴσως ἔστιν ἄλλο τὸ ἔστιν ὃ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων πάντων Φίλιππον τοῖς παρεληλυθότος ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν. τί οὖν ἐπιβουλεύει.

Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ὥς ἂν ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμέν εὐθέςτατοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμῶν αὐτῆς Ἀττικῆν αὐτὴν βαδίξῃ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τοῦτ' ἔρει, εἴπερ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πεποιήκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν

γὰρ Ὀλυνθίοις τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια εἶπε
 ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκείνους ἐν Ὀλύθῳ μὴ οἰκῆν
 αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἴ τις αἰτίαν
 αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦτον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων τοῖς
 ἀπολογησομένους· τοῦτο δ' εἰς Φωκίας ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους
 ἐπορευέτο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκίων ἦσαν οἱ παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ
 πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤριζον πολλοὶ Θηβαίους οὐ δυνατοὺς
 τελήσειν τὴν ἐκείνου παράδοτον. καὶ μὲν καὶ Φερὰς πρῶτον
 φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει καταλαβῶν, καὶ
 τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς ταιλαιπύροις Ὠρεΐταις τουτοισὶ ἐπισκεψάμενος
 εἶπε τοὺς στρατιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ' εὖνοιαν· πεπομφέναι γὰρ
 θάνεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ πόλει
 συμμάχων δ' εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ ἐν τῇ
 ροῖς παρεῖναι. εἶτ' οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν, οἱ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ
 κακὸν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατῶν
 αἰρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ πρῶτον
 ῥήσεως πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ' ἕως ἂν ἐκόντες ἐξαπατασθῆτε
 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων
 πων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντων αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ
 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων, ἐκεῖνος ἐκλύσας τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους
 λους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονεικίαν ἐφ' αὐτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι
 καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλονται
 οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκεῖνός γε οὐ πολεμεῖ
 τῇ πόλει.

Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ὧ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
 ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἐπιβουλήσθαι
 πολεμοῦνθ' ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ' ἂν; οὐδεὶς δὴπου. ὁ τοῖνυν Φίλιππος
 πος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὐπω Διοσιθέτην
 στρατηγόντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρόνησῳ νῦν ἀπεσταλτοῦ,
 μένων, Σέρρρειον καὶ Δορίσκον κατελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερρρ
 ρείων τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας ἐξέβαλλεν, οὐκ οὐκ
 ἡμέτερος στρατηγὸς ἐγκατέστησεν. καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων ἐν κινδύνῳ

πόλεως στάδια εἰσὶν αἰεὶ; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὠμωμύκει. καὶ μηδεὶς εἴπῃ, τί δὲ
 Ολύνθῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν κατ' ἴσταντα, ἢ τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει; εἰ γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτά
 χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἐπιβήσῃ, ἢ μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος·
 ῥέσβεις πέμπων τούτων εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἂν τ' ἐπὶ μεί-
 ῶς πρὸς συμμάχου παραβαίνῃ, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἦνικ' εἰς
 παρῆκοι οὐ λυσιπρόρρησον, ἦν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληες ὑμετέραν ἐγνώ-
 σθησαν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπισ-
 καὶ Φεράς πρῶνται ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ; φησὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ
 ἔχει καταλαβῶν, οὗτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐκείνον ὁμολογεῖν ἄγειν τὴν πρὸς
 τουτοῖσι ἐπισκεψομένους εἰρήνην, ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ
 κατ' εὐνοίαν· περὶ τῆς ἀνιδα κατασκευάζοιτα καὶ ἐπὶ Θράκῃ παριόντα καὶ
 ασιάζουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ', ὅσα πράττει
 τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως, ποιοῦντα λύειν φημι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πολε-
 ῖσαν μὲν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματα ἐφιστάνας εἰρήνην
 οὗτους μὲν ἐξαπατῶν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς τείχεσσι τῶν προσαγάγωσιν,
 θαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προῶν οὐ φησετε· ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ἐπιβῆμι, ταῦτα πράττων
 κόντες ἐξαπατῶσθαι κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμὴν πολεμεί, κὰν μήπω βάλλῃ
 εἰς ἐτοξέυῃ. τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινεῖσθε; εἰ τι γένοιτο; τῷ
 λούντων αὐτῷ, ἢ Ἕλλησποντον ὑμῶν ἄλλοτριωθῆναι, τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς
 ῖσας τὴν πρὸς ἄλλοβοίας τὸν πολεμούνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοπον-
 προεῖποι τρέπεσθαι οἷος τὰ κείνου φρονήσαι. εἶτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ μηχανήμα ἐπὶ
 ῖς λόγους ἀφέλωσθαι πόλιν ἰστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς·
 ἰνὸς γε οὐ πολεμου γέοι καὶ δέω, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνεῖλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ
 τῆς ἐγωγ' αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὀρίζομαι. ὑμᾶς δὲ, εἰ μὲν
 εὖ φρονῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιβῆσθε ἤδη, σωφρονήσειν φημι, εἰ μὴ εἰσῆτε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ'
 ἄγοντ' εἰρήνην ἐβουλήσθε δινησῆσθε ποιῆσαι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε ἀφέσ-
 ον. ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιππος τῶν ἄλλων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν συμβουλευόντων
 οὗτω Διοπέθῳ οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερρόνησον νῦν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαν-
 νήσῳ νῦν ἀπεστῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι μὲν τοῦτοις, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μὴ τι πάθωσι,
 καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σπάρτης οἷσιν ἐκεῖ νῦν στρατιώταις πάνθ' ὅσων ἂν δέωνται
 ἐξέβαλλεν, οὐδὲ ποτεῖλαι, βουλευέσθαι μέντοι περὶ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ταῦτα πράττων ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ καθεστῶτων. βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς

ἡμᾶς ἐξ ὧν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν', εἰ ἂν ὀρθῶς λογίζωμαι, μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ πρόνοιᾶν ἡμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσασθε ἐὼν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὖθις ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.

Ὅτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀρχαίως Φίλιππος ἤξῃται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅτι πολλῶ παραδοξότερον ἦν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω πολλὰ προείληψεν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἂν ἔχοιμι διεξελθεῖν, παραλείψω. ἀλλ' ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκέναι πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἄρξασμένους, αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν Ἑλληνικοί. τί οὖν ἐστί τοῦτο; τὸ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται, καὶ καθ' ἓνα οὕτως ἐπεκρίπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα. καίτοι προστάται μὲν ἡμεῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθαι προστάται δὲ τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἵστανσαν δέ τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τουτουσὶ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐθ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲ Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπόποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληναί, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὅσα βούλοισθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἡμῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐπικουρὸν προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες ᾤοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐπιθυμῶντες ἄλλῃ λολεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς, μετὰ τῶν ἡδικομένων πολεμῶν, ἀπὸ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄρξασιν καὶ παρελθούσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν δυναστείαν ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ πλεονάζειν ἐπεχείρουσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μετρίου τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐκίνουσι, πάντες εἰς πόλεμον ἐπιβίαν ποιήκατέστησαν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τί οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶμεν, τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅ τι ἡδικοῦμεθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων;

φοβῶμαι, ἴν', ἐὰν ἄλλοις ὅμως ὑπερ ὦν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικουμένους ἐρωῶμεν, ἡμῶν καὶ πρόνοιάν τι πολεμῆν φόμεθα δεῖν. καίτοι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐξημάρτηται καὶ βούλεσθε, ποιήσασθε. Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ' ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμεροῖς προγόνοις ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττονά ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὦν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν οἷς ἐπιπολάζει ἡδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἕλληνα, καὶ τὸν Ἕλληνα δὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος τούτων ἐκείνα. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ βραχυτάτου χρόνου λόγου ῥάδιον δεῖξαι. Ὀλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θράκης ἡμῶν ἀπάσας οὕτως ὡμῶς ἀνήρηκεν ὥστε μὴδ' εἰ πώποτ' ἀνήθησαν προσελθόντ' εἶναι ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ Φωκίων ἄνδρες τοσοῦτον ἀνηρημένον σιωπῶ, ἀλλὰ Θετταλία πῶς ἀνήθησαν; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παρήρηραι καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἔθνη δουλεύσων; αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις καὶ ἡδὴ τυραννοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον Θηβῶν καὶ Ἀθηνῶν; οὐ διαρρήδην εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολάς γράφει "ἐμοὶ ἐστὶν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐμοῦ βουλομένους;" καὶ ἄλλοις γράφει μὲν ταῦτα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἧς οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἀλλήλοισιν οἴχεται, πρότερον ἦκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἡλιαν καὶ τῆλικαυτήν πόλιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάρους ἐπεβούλευσεν, ὧστε πρῶην, οὐθ' ἡ Ἑλλάς οὐθ' ἡ βάρβαρος τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ πάνθρώπου. καὶ ταῦθ' ὀρώντες οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐ μετρίως ἐπαιτεῖσθε καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ πέμπομεν πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦμεν, οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα ὡς οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν συμφερόντων οὔτε τῶν δέοντων πράξαι οὐδὲ συστήναι, οὐδὲ κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας ἀδειμίαν ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἀνθρώπου ἀπορῶμεν, τὸν χρόνον κερδάναι τοῦτον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται καὶ Δακεδαιμονίαν ἀπορῶμεν, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως σωθήσεται τὸν Ἕλληνα σκοπῶν οὐδὲ πράττων, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ὥσπερ

περίοδος ἢ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 πάντες πόρρω δοκοῦντι νῦν ἀφεστάναι προσέρχεται, οὐδέ τις ὦν αἰ
 ἀγνοεῖ δῆπου. καὶ μὴν κάκεινό γε ἴστε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ἴσθι ἐστίν.
 Λακεδαιμονίων, ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἴσθι; οὐκ
 ὑπὸ γνησίων γ' ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠδικοῦντο, καὶ τὸν αἰσθῆναι; οὐ
 τὸν τρόπον ἂν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ', ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ἀπαντίους
 οὐσία πολλῇ γεγονῶς γνήσιος διώκει τι μὴ καλῶς, μὴ γὰρ, ἀλλ'
 ὀρθῶς κατ'αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτο ἄξιον μέμψεως εἶναι καὶ κατηγορεῖται; ταῦτα
 ρίας, ὡς δ' οὐ προσήκων ἢ ὡς οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ἐπιμέθετα κα
 ταῦτα ἐποίει, οὐκ ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. εἰ δέ γε δοῦλος ἢ ὑποβοσθῆλοισι, οὐ
 μαῖος τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλειος γλῶσ οὐ
 ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεῖον καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ κίρ
 ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὦν ἐκεῖνος πράττει νῦν, οὐκ ἴσθι; τί οὖν ο
 οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνας ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὔτε
 κοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν οἱ Ἕλλη
 ὄθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνοιο, ὄθεν οὐκ ἄνδρες Ἀ
 ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι. ἔστιν, ὅ

Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐκ ἴσθι; ἢ ἔτι
 τῶ πόλεις ἀνηρηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια, τὸν κοινὸν τῆς γῆς οὐδε
 Ἕλλήνων ἀγῶνα, καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ παρῆ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγροῦται καὶ ἀ
 θετήσοντες πέμπει; κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα. τί οὐ
 Ἕλληνας παρόδων ἐστὶ, καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ξένοις τοὺς τῶν τῶν πα
 ρους τούτους κατέχει; ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τῆς Ἑλλάδα
 θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ πελοποννησιακοῦ
 ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας, ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπασιν μέτεστιν ἡ ἰσχύς τοῦ
 γράφει δὲ Θετταλοῖς ὅν χρὴ τὸν τρόπον πολιτεῖσθαι; πέμπει γινώμη. τ
 δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμῶν, τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντα τύχη καὶ
 τὸν Ἐρετριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεῶν, τύραννον Φιλιππίων, οὐ μὴδὲν ἐ
 καταστήσοντας; ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῦθ' ὀρώντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπαττόντων π
 χονται, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἐμπερὶ λεγόντων
 δοκοῦσι θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοῦς ἕκαστος ὁμόνο
 γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦς ἀ

τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' προσέρχεται, οὐδέ τις ὧν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοῖσχα-
 ρε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ εἴσθιν. οὐ Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Δευ-
 "Ελληνες, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὁμόμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παρα-
 κύντο, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσθίας οὐκ ἔχοντες; οὐκ Ἐχίνον ἀφῆρηται; καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ
 περ ἂν εἰ υἱὸς ἀντιόχου πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐκ ἡμῶν, ἐὼ
 τι μὴ καλῶς, μή τι ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ Χερρόνήσου τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει πόλιν Καρ-
 ρεῖς εἶναι καὶ κατηγεῖται; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες ἅπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλα-
 κρονόμοι τούτων ὑπομένεμε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες
 εἶναι δοῦλος ἢ ὑποβασίλειος, οὐ τῷ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν
 ὑμᾶς αἰσθάνεται, Ἡράκλειον ὡς οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὴν καθ' ἓνα ἡμῶν
 εἴ τις ἂν ἔφασαν εἶναι τοῦ κύριος γέννηται, τί ποιήσεις;
 τί οὖν αἴτιον τούτων; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας
 αἰτίας οὔτε τότ' οὕτως εἶχον ἐτοιμίως πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἅπαν-
 βαρβάρων ἐντεῦθεν οἱ Ἕλληνες οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν. ἦν τι τότ', ἦν,
 κεδόνος, ὅθεν οὐκ ἔδρασαν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοίαις, ὃ νῦν
 εἴσθιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευ-
 τολείπει; οὐκ ἔστιν ἡγετὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς
 θια, τὸν κοινὸν τῆς οὐδεμίας ἡττάτο, νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύ-
 τούς τοὺς δούλους ἀγνοεῖται καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποιήκε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγ-
 καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν, ἀλλ'
 καὶ ξένους τοὺς τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἄρχων αἰεὶ βουλομένων ἢ διαφθεῖρειν
 ἢ προμαντεῖαν τῆς Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας ἅπαντες ἐμίσησαν, καὶ
 Δωριέας καὶ τῶν ἐπιπότατον ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίαν
 τῶν ἅπασιν μέτεσθαι τῆς ἐπιπότατον ἐκόλαζον, καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμία ἦν οὐδὲ
 αἰτεῦσθαι; πέμψοντες τὴν γνῶμην. τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἐκίστου τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν
 ἡμῶν ἐκβαλοῦνται τῆς τύχῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι κατὰ τῶν προσεχόντων καὶ
 ἡμῶν Φιλιππίου μηδὲν ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν κατὰ τῶν πάντα ἃ προσήκει
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπαιτῶντων πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ
 τὴν χάλαζαν ἡμῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλ-
 ἑαυτοῖς ἕκαστος ὁμόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς
 οὐ μόνον δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ βαρβάρους ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως τοιοῦτων οὐδέν. νῦν δ'

ἀπανθ' ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισηγὰρ τὰ
 δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νεόσθηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἄλλεν;
 ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τί; ζήλος, εἴ τις εἰληφέ τι· γέλως, ἄλλαι ν
 ὁμολογῆ· συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχομένοις· μῖσος, ἀν ται, ἀλλ
 τοῖς τις ἐπιτιμῆ· τᾶλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκῆθνάτω.
 ἤρηται. ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε καὶ σωμαίων πλήθος καὶ χροκτεῖναν
 μάτων πρόσοδοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, ἡ Ἑλλά
 τᾶλλα οἷς ἂν τις ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἀπο αὐτοῖς
 καὶ πλείω καὶ μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῶ. ἀλλὰ τα φθείρει,
 πάντα ἄχρηστα, ἄπρακτα, ἀνόνητα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων μωροῦντε
 νεται. εἶν. ἐκ

“Οτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὄρατε δήπου, ὡφ φοβε
 οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀνε γὰρ οὐτ
 χρόνοις ὅτι τάναντία εἶχεν ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐ λόγους ἐφ λα, ἀλλ
 τοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν προγόνων τῶν ὑμετε ὦν κατηγ
 δεικνύων, ἃ κείνοι κατέθεντο εἰς στήλην χαλκῆν γράψα αντες οἱ
 εἰς ἀκρόπολιν, οὐχ ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ πολλῆς
 τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων τὰ δέοντα ἐφρόνουν), ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑ προσδεῖσθα
 ἔχητε ὑπομνήματα καὶ παραδείγματα ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν τα
 των σπουδάξιν προσήκει. τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα [EK T
 “Ἄρθμιος,” φησὶ, “ὁ Πυθώνακτος Ζελεΐτης ἀτιμος ἐ *Ἐστι το
 “καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμά βουλομ
 “αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.” εἶθ' ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι' ἣν τ οὔτος οἷο
 ἐγένετο· ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησ χον καὶ γ
 ἤγαγεν. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα. λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς τ ατο δ' οὐδ
 καὶ θεωρεῖτε παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τίς ἦν ποθ' ἢ διάνοια οὐκ ἀνη
 τότε Ἀθηναίων τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων, ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐν εἰληφότη
 νοι Ζελεΐτην τινὸς Ἄρθμιον δοῦλον βασιλέως (ἢ γὰρ Ζε ες πρότερον
 ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας), ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ διακονῶν χρυσίον ἤ μνησθαι κ
 γεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀμονίους το
 γραψαν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ ἀτίμη πέντε, τὴν
 τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἦν οὕτωςί τις ἂν φήσειεν ἀτιμῶν τῶν ἀν-

ταῦτα, ἀντισημαίνων γὰρ τῷ Ζελεΐτῃ, τῶν Ἀθηναίων κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξουσιν
 ἐνεόσηκεν ἢ Ἑλλήνων; ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς φονικοῖς γέ-
 ληφέ τι· γέλωσ, καταπατα νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῶ δίκας. φόνου δικάσα-
 οὖς· μῖσος, ἀντισημαίνων, ἀλλ' εὐαγὲς ἢ τὸ ἀποκτείναι, "καὶ ἀτιμος," φησὶ,
 ἀ ἐκ τοῦ δωροδοκῆσθαι. "καὶ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι." τοῦτο δὴ λέγει, καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τινὰ
 τῶν πλῆθος καὶ ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκείνοι τῆς πάντων
 ἀσκειῆς ἀφθονία, ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ
 κρίνοι, νῦν ἀποκτείναντα αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται καὶ
 πολλῶ. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποκτείναντα ἀφθέρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐκόλαζον δ' οὕτω καὶ
 τῶν πωλούντων ἀποκτείναντα οὐσ ἀισθοντο δωροδοκούντας ὥστε καὶ στηλίτας
 εἶναι. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρ-
 νῦν ὄρατε δὴ ποιοῦσ φοβερὰ οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν·
 ἀ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀνεπίστοις γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ' ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὔτε πρὸς
 σω, οὐ λόγους ἐπισημαίνων, ἀλλὰ πῶς; ἴστε αὐτοί· τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων
 γόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων κατηγορεῖν; παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν
 ἢν χαλκῆν γράψαντες οἱ λοιποὶ Ἕλληνες. διόπερ φημι ἔγωγε καὶ σπου-
 ῆσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἐπισημαίνων) πολλῆς καὶ βουλής ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα
 ἵκναι, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀποκτείναντα ἀποδεῖσθαι. τίνος εἶπω; κελεύετε καὶ οὐκ ὀργεῖσθε;

[ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΗΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ.]

Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παραμυθεῖσ-
 ον καὶ τῶν συμμάχων βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρα οὕτω Φίλιππος ἐστὶ
 καταπραπται, δι' ἣν τοιοῦτος οἰοί ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ θαλάττης μὲν
 ἐν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ γῆς ἀπάσης, βασιλεῖα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑπέ-
 ζεσθε δὴ πρὸς τὸ αὐτο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡμῖν αὐτοὶ κἀκεῖνους ἢ πόλις
 ποθ' ἢ διάνοια οὐκ ἀνηγάσθη. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολ-
 τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐν εὐελήφωτων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν νῦν
 λέως (ἢ γὰρ Ζελεῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου
 κοινῶν χρυσίον ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακε-
 ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείναντα ἡμῖν οἰοῦντο τότε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας τέτταρας μῆνας
 γένος, καὶ ἀτίμους ἡμῖν ἔργα, πέντε, τὴν ὥραιαν αὐτὴν, ἐμβολόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας
 φήσειεν ἀτίμους τῶν ἀντιπάλων χώραν ὑπλήταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρα-

τεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπ' οἶκον πάλιν· οὕτω δ' ἄρχοιτος, ἥστ
 εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ πολιτικῶς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὀνεῖσ οὐδ' ἄν
 ἰαροῦ οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφαι καὶ γε
 τὸν πόλεμον. νυνὶ δ' ὁράτε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλείεστα τὸν, καί γε
 προδότας ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδέν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μά τις πολ
 γινόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὅτι οὐσιν·
 τῶν ἄγειν βραδίζονθ' ὅποι βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλοῦς, τῶν το
 πείας, τοξότας, ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρηθῆσθαι στρατόπεδ
 ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπε
 καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίη, μηχανήμα ἵππου κ
 ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, του καὶ
 οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις ἣν διαλείπει
 ταῦτα μέντοι πάντας εἰδόμενος καὶ λογιζόμενος οὐ δεῖ π
 εἶσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν
 τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας ἐκτρα
 λισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείεσθου φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς πράγμα
 καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως οἴκοθεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦν
 οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίζεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλε Οὐ τοίνυ
 πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἂν περ, ὡ ἄν
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἂν δεῖ, ἢ φύσει τῆς ἐκείνου χώρ
 ἧς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστι πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἂν τὴν πόλ
 μυρία· εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἦσκηται.

Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γινώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἔργ
 ἐκεῖνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ λογισ
 καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισθ
 ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ ἔνεστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθ
 κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσητε ὑπ
 τούντας ἐκεῖνους. ὁ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς
 δυνήσεσθε ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, οὐδὲ βούλεσθε ἀλλ' εἰς το
 ἀφίχθε μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλ
 γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μὴ τι δαιμόν
 τὰ πράγματ' ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε λοιδορίας ἢ φθόνου ἢ σκα
 Καὶ τί δεῖ

οὗτω δ' ἄρχοι, ἡστινος ἂν τύχητε ἕνεκ' αἰτίας ἀνθρώπων μισθωτοῦς,
 ἀλλὰ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθε οὐδ' ἂν ἀρνηθεῖεν ἐνιοι ὡς οὐκ εἰσι τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεί-
 νον τινα καὶ προφασίζοντα, καὶ γελᾶτε, ἂν τισι λουδοθησῶσιν. καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο
 ἔσται, καίπερ ὄν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφα-
 ρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάστιγι πολιτεῦσθαι δεδώκατε τοῖτοισι ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
 ἐπὶ τῷ φάλαγγα ὀφειλοῦσιν· καίτοι θεάσασθε ὅσας συμφορὰς παρασκευάζει
 ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλοῦς, τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν ἀκροῦσθαι. λέξω δ' ἔργα ἃ
 ἐπὶ τῆσθαι στρατόπεδον ἔεισεσθε.
 ἐν αὐτοῖς προσπελάσαντες ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς μὲν
 ἰπποῦ καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δὲ τοῦ βελ-
 οῦ καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύουσιν οἱ πολῖται πράττοντες.
 ἄρα τις ἦν διαλείποντες ἐροῖ δὴ τὴν πατρίδ' ἐξώλεσαν; ἢ πότεροι τοὺς ἰππέας
 ὀνόμασαν ὡν προδοθέντων Ὀλυνθος ἀπόλετο; οἱ τὰ Φιλίπ-
 πῳ εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν φρονούντες καὶ ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέ-
 γοντες συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὕτως ὥστε τὸν
 Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων
 ἐστῆ.
 οὐδὲ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμος οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις μόνοις τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο πάντα
 εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ,
 ἡ δὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος
 τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμόν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ
 ἔργα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ
 ἄλλα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ ταλαίπυροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς
 τρεῖς τελευτῶντες ἐπέισθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λέγον-
 τας ἐκβάλλειν. καὶ γὰρ τοι πέμψας Ἰππόνικον ὁ σύμμαχος
 φίλος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τείχη
 ἐπέλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους,
 Πυρραῖον, Αὐτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξελή-
 θεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δις ἤδη βουλομένους σῶζεσθαι, τότε
 πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυλόχου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς
 Παρμενίωνος.
 Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἄλλ' ἐν Ὀρεῶ Φιλιστίδης

μὲν ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππος καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ Ἄγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν· τὰ
 ἤδεσαν ἅπαντες), Εὐφραῖος δὲ τις, ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ' ἐμῶν δ' ἐν ἀπόστο-
 ποτ' ἐνθάδ' οἰκίστας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦναι φέρειν
 ἔσονται. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ προὔπληξε μὴ πισ-
 ζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, πόλλ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν ἅλα τὸν
 ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς προὔπληξε· οἱ μὲν
 τὸν Φιλιστιῆν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ, αἰσθόμενος ἅπαντες οὐκ ἐπὶ
 τούσιν. συστραφέντες δ' ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγῶν δ' ἀπο-
 ἔχοντες Φιλίππον καὶ πρυτανευόμενοι παρ' ἐκείνου, ἀπάγομεν οὔτε
 τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον ὡς συνταράττοντα τὴν πόλιν ὑποκα-
 πόλιν. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀρειτῶν, ἀντίθετον ὁ νῦν
 τῷ μὲν βοηθεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀποτυμπαίνουσι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἄλλοι ἢ ὅμοιοι
 ζετο, τὸν δ' ἐπιτιθέειν εἶναι ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέμειναι μὴ γ-
 ρεν. μετὰ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ὀπόσης ἠβούλουσιν τῷ τεθνη-
 ἔπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ κατεσκευάξουσιν Φιλίππῳ
 τὴν πρᾶξιν· τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις αἰσθοῖτο, ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἢ γ' οἱ
 κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον οἶα ἔπαθε μεμνημένοι. οἱ δὲ Φιλίπ-
 πῳ δ' ἀθλίως διέκειντο ὥστε οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν οἰκιστῶν· καλῶς
 τοιοῦτου κακοῦ προσιόντος ῥῆξαι φωνήν, πρὶν διασκευάσθαι τέρους πρ-
 σάμενοι πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη προσήεσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· τῆς πόλεως ἀλεύουσί γ' ἡμῶν
 δ' οἱ μὲν ἠμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προὔδιδον. τῆς πόλεως ἀκινθίων ἐφ-
 οὔτως ἀλούσης αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν ἐμῶν, ἡγεμόνων,
 τυραννοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σώζοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον οἶα τὰ τοιαῦτα
 ἐτοίμους ὅτιοι ποιεῖν ὄντας τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλόντες, τῶν δὲ ὄντων πρὸς
 δ' ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δ' Εὐφραῖος ἐκείνος ἐπέσφαξεν ἐαυτὸν ἡρώων λεγόν-
 ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας ὅτι δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων εἶναι τὸ μέ-
 τῶν ἀνθεισθήκει Φιλίππῳ.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετ' ἴσως, τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ὀρειτῶν μόνους τυραννοῦσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ἔσθαι τυραννοῦσθαι. καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον οἶα τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ὄντας τῶν μὲν ἐκβαλόντων, τῶν δὲ ὄντων πρὸς ἀποκτείναντες, ὁ δ' Εὐφραῖος ἐκείνος ἐπέσφαξεν ἐαυτὸν ἡρώων λεγόν-
 ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας ὅτι δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων εἶναι τὸ μέ-
 τῶν ἀνθεισθήκει Φιλίππῳ.

αὐτῶν καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ ἄλλοι οὐδὲ βουλομένοι ἐνεστιν ἐνίοτε πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲν
 ἦν πόλιν (καὶ τὰ γὰρ πράγματ' ἀνάγκη σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθήσεται·
 ἄλλοι δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται Φιλίππῳ συμπράττουσιν.
 καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦναι φέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν· πολεμεῖν
 ζήτο καὶ προὔπληρον μὴ πιστεύειν, οἱ δ' ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ἕως ἐγκατελήφθησαν.
 πόλλ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν ἅλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον οἶμαι πάνθ', ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα
 ἐδείξειεν ὡς προδοῦσιν· οἱ μὲν ἐφ' οἷς ἤδη χαριούνται, ταῦτ' ἔλεγον καὶ
 αἰσθόμενοι ἂν πρὸς οὐδὲν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον σωθήσασθαι, προσ-
 πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγοὶ δ' ἀπέχθεται. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα οὐχ
 ἀρ' ἐκείνου, ἀπάγεται οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε δι' ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ προείπεντο,
 οὐκ ἐπινοοῦσιν ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ὅλοις ἠτῶσθαι ἐνο-
 ῦσιν. ὁ γὰρ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω δέδοικ' ἐγὼ μὴ
 εἶναι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἐπειδὴν εἶδητε ἐκ λογισμοῦ μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνόν.
 θεῖν ἔφη καὶ ἐπέειπεν οὐ μὴ γένοιτο, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ πράγματ' ἐν
 τῷ ὄπῳ ἡβούλωσθε· τεθνάαι γὰρ μυριάκις κρείττον ἢ κολακεία τι ποιῆ-
 σαι καὶ κατεσκευασμένον Φιλίππῳ καὶ προέσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λεγόντων τινός.
 αἰσθητοί, ἐστέγατον γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφασιν Ὀρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι
 ἐμνησθημένοι. οἱ δὲ Φιλίππου φίλοις ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτοὺς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον
 ἐτόλμησεν οὐκ ἔπειτα· καλήν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν
 ἠγῶν, πρὶν διασκευαστέους πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν αὐτόν·
 πολέμοιοι· τηλικαύτων γὰρ μαστιγοῦμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι. καλῶς
 ἔγινε τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων ἐφείσατο τῶν τὸν μὲν Λασθένη ἵππαρχον χειρο-
 ῶν μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν ἠσάντων, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. μυρία καὶ
 καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον ἡμῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ
 ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν δὲ ὅταν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπερ τῶν
 ἐπέσφαξεν ἐαυτῶν λεγόντων ἀκρωμένους, τηλικαύτην ἠγεῖσθαι πόλιν
 ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν εἶναι τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε μηδὲν, μηδ' ἂν ὀτιοῦν ἦ, δεῖν
 ἵστασθαι. καὶ μὴν κακείνῳ γε αἰσχρὸν, ὕστερόν ποτ' εἰπεῖν
 τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλύμπιους τινός " τίς γὰρ ἂν ψήθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νῆ
 ῥεῖταις ἡδίων πρὸς Δία, εἶδει γὰρ τὸ καὶ το ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆ-
 τοὺς ὑπερ αὐτῶν." πόλλ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύμπιοι νῦν, ἂ τὸτ' εἰ προεί-
 ῖερ τοῦ βελτίωσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο· πόλλ' ἂν Ὀρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκείας,

πολλά τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλὰ τί τούτων ὄφρα φοβησθε τοὺς φόβους φοβησθε αὐτοῖς; ἕως ἂν σώζηται τὸ σκάφος, ἂν τε μείζον ἂν τ' ἐλάττω χρῆμα
 τον ἢ, τότε χρῆ καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖν
 ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μίθ' ἑκὼν μίθ' ἄκων μὴ ποιούντων
 ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ θάλαττα ἐπιπέσει, ἴσως
 σχῆ, μάταιος ἢ σπουδῆ. καὶ ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἰσχύουσι
 ναῖοι, ἕως ἔσμεν σῶοι, πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὴν ἰσχυρὰν
 πλείστας, ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον, — τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἡσυχία ἔσται
 ἂν ἴσως ἐρωτήσας κέβηται. ἐγὼ νῆ Δι' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράμματα ἔχω
 δέ, ὥστ' εἴαν βούλησθε, χειροτονήσετε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον ἀποφασίζοντες
 νόμοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι καὶ χρήμασι ἰσχυρὰν καὶ
 στρατιώταις λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἅπαντες δήπου δουλεύοντες καθ' ἑαυτοὺς
 συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι, ἡμῖν γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀποφασίζοντες
 νιστέον· ταῦτα δὴ πάντ' αὐτοὶ παρασκευασάμενοι καὶ πείσθησιν
 σάντες τοῖς Ἑλλησι φανερὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεν ἵνα
 καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις πανταχόθεν ἵνα
 εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγουσιν, ἵνα
 (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἑλλήσι
 εἶσαι πάντα καταστρέψασθαι), ἵν' εἴαν μὲν πείσητε, κοινὴν ἐλευθετίαν
 νοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἂν ἐπιπέσει
 δέη, εἰ δὲ μὴ, χρόνους γε ἐμπούητε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐπειδὴν
 γὰρ ἔστι πρὸς ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστῶσης πόλεως ἰσχυρὰν καὶ
 ὁ πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ' αἱ πέρουσι πείσθησιν
 βεβαίαι αἱ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκείναι καὶ κατηγορίαί, ἵνα
 ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος ἐκεινοσὶ καὶ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ
 καὶ Κλειτόμαχος καὶ Λυκούργος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπέμψωμεν
 περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκείνον καὶ μίθ' αὐτοῦ
 Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μίθ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον ὀρμήσαι. ἐπειδὴν
 μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐθέλοντες
 ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς τὰ οἴκων
 αὐτοὺς προΐεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν φάσκειν κήδεσθαι καὶ
 καὶ τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων τὰ

ἅ τ' ἐλάττωσθε μείζον ἢ τὰ ἄλλα ἵνα ἴσθαι
 ἴσθαι καὶ πάντ' ἄνευ ἐμοῦ ποιῆτε, αὐτοὺς δὲ
 ἄνευ ἐμοῦ ποιῶντας τότε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας
 ἀναγκάζετε, διδάσκειν, νοθετεῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πόλεως
 ἀξίωμα ἡλικίον ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. εἰ δ' οἴεσθε
 Χαλκιδικίας τὴν Μεγαρέας, ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδράσεσθαι
 τὰ ἄλλα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεσθε. ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ εἶναι
 αὐτοὺς τούτων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο πρακτέον·
 ὑμῖν ἀπρόγονοι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτήσαντο καὶ
 κατέλιπον μετὰ τῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων. εἰ δ' ὁ
 βούλεται ζητῶν ἕκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ ὅπως
 μηδὲν αὐτὸς ποιήσοντας, εἴπειτα δεδοικα
 ἵνα μὴ πάνθ' ἅμα, ὅσα οὐ βουλόμεθα, ποιῆτε
 ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη ἵσθαι.

Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἶμαι
 ἵνα ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσῃται ἂν τὰ πράγματα τούτων
 γιγνόμενα. εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτων βέλτιον,
 λεγέτω καὶ συμπεριλάβω. ὃ τι δ' ὑμῖν
 δόξει, τοῦτ', ὧ πάντες θεοὶ, ἐνεργήσοι.

πράγμασιν. ἐπεὶ
 τῆς πόλεως ἰσχυρῶς
 αἱ πέρυσι πρὸς
 καὶ κατηγορίαί, καὶ
 τὴν καὶ Ἡγήσιππον
 ἵ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις
 εἶνον καὶ μὴτ' ὅτι
 ἴσον ὀρμήσαι.
 ἀγακαῖον ἐθέλοντες
 οὐ εὔηθες τὰ οἴκηται
 ἀσκήν κήδεσθαι
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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC.

It is impossible to understand the Philippic orations of Demosthenes, unless we have some general idea of the events of Grecian and Macedonian history during the period of which they treat. In order to gain this more easily, a slight glance at the state of affairs in the several Greek states at the accession of Philip will be necessary. And it may be remarked, to commence with, that no single Grecian State was able to cope with Philip at the date of the first Philippic, and a union among them for this purpose was almost impossible. At the accession of Philip, then, Sparta was suffering from her defeats by the Thebans under Epaminondas. The Arcadian confederacy had been established on her northern frontier. Messene on the northwest, and Tegea and Argos were now her invincible enemies. These various states aimed at nothing else than to keep down the Spartan power, and ultimately preferred the dominion of the Macedonian to Messalage under a hated rival. Thebes had as allies and confederates all the Peloponnesian States opposed to Sparta, and in addition, the Phocians, Locrians, Thessalians, Arcarnanians, and Eubœa, together with ()ous

wrested six years before from Athens. Her ascendancy over the Bœotian towns was complete, and there was her weakness. The Grecian idea of the various States was that they were autonomous cities equally independent, and only united by the common tie of a Hellenic ancestry. While therefore all beheld with joy the emancipation of the Peloponnesus from the power of Sparta, Thebes was regarded with aversion for her action towards Platæa, Thespiæ, and Orchomenos, remarkable alike for its antiquity and religious observances.

Athens alone had the power at this time to avert from Greece her impending doom. She stood, since the battle of Naxos, B.C. 376, at the head of a vast maritime confederacy; her general Timotheus had acquired for her Pydna, Potidæa, and Methone on the Macedonian coast. She had also colonized the Thracian Chersonese and vindicated her power over Cotys the king of that country. Funds poured into her treasury from the insular allies, and her power was respected through all the Ægean. But she had imbibed, in common with the rest of Greece, the pernicious idea that the defence of the country could be entrusted to mercenaries, and her power was thus every day becoming weaker, her allies more and more estranged, and her citizens, fiery politicians in the general assembly, were quiet enough at their homes, when they reasoned on the money side of the question, and compared domestic comforts with the hardships of war. The Athenians of B.C. 432, was well assured that the glorious benefits of his freedom could only be retained by his own individual exertions, he was silent in the Pnyx, but

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ant in the field. He knew that perhaps on his single
 depended the freedom of his city, hallowed to him
 the recollections of his kindred and his gods, (THUC.
 40, 41). But now all was changed. The Athenian
 wrangled and appealed to the dicasts. He fought
 battles with his money, but lavished it more freely in
 the worship of his gods. Scrupulous to observe even
 the smallest duties of religion, he allowed the weightier
 concerns of the glory of his country to be cared for by
 rangers who fought for their daily pay. Unlike his
 ancestor, who might claim with the Spartan, that poverty
 had been the inmate of Greece and a guarantee of
 Grecian courage, (HER. VII. 102.), he now rolled in
 pleasures, one half of which was spent in pleasure, and the
 other squandered in the pay of mercenary vagabonds.
 Such were the States which were soon to see them-
 selves pitted against a young man trained in the lap of
 Grecian politics in his youth, and anxious to emulate
 the glory of his great prototype, Epaminondas. On the
 one side was plenty, forces trained to war, yet lacking
 the energy to fight, vast maritime power, and money
 pouring into their coffers from numberless dependencies.
 On the other side, poverty and undisciplined hordes,
 clad in skins of beasts, but inured to fight from infancy,
 and accustomed to all manner of fatigue. No ports,
 no sea coast, no allies, no money in the treasury; and
 yet we shall find in a few years that every one of these
 were in abundance, wrested from the very hands of
 those who were too negligent to take even common
 precautions for their preservation.

Philip ascended the throne of Macedon in the Ar-
 chonship of Callimedes, B.C. 360-359, and immediately

came in contact with Athens, from her support of Argæus, one of the pretenders to the crown. As he knew that Athens only wanted Amphipolis, he promised to give it up to them, and this secured their defection from Argæus, who was soon afterwards defeated by Philip whilst making an attack upon Edessa, (DION. XVI. 31.). At the same time he sent letters to Athens asking for an alliance on the same terms as his father had received, (DEM. *contra* ARISTOC. 660). He had an opportunity to establish himself firmly on the throne without further interference from Athens, but he made good use of the time against the Illyrians, and other neighbours inland. As soon as these had been disposed of he attacked Amphipolis, notwithstanding his promises to Athens; and when remonstrated with assured them that he was only attacking the city to deliver it to them when captured. The city fell, and he forgot his promises, B.C. 358. It may be wondered why Athens did not seize the city when offered to her a year before, but at that time she was about commencing the Social War, and may not have been able to spare forces sufficient to occupy the place. He knew too well the value of the city as opening up the district east of the Strymon to give it up, and it continued to be his greatest anxiety for the remainder of his reign. Olynthus now became alarmed for the safety of her possessions, and sent an offer of peace to Athens, which was rejected through Philip's representations, and at the same time he hinted that Pydna of right was his. A secret understanding appears to have been come to for an interchange of Pydna for Amphipolis, (DEM. OL. ii. p. 19.), which came to nothing. Philip now made an alliance with

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 n Edessa, (DIO
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nthians, angry at the Athenian refusal, and ceded to
 n Anthemus, and the Athenian town of Potidæa,
 PHIL. ii. p. 71). How or when this town and Pydna
 e lost to Athens we do not know precisely, except
 t it was during the continuance of the Social War, and
 rious to the year B.C. 355, (DEM. *adv. LEPT.* 475).
 we know is that aid was voted by Athens, but
 ved too late, (PHIL. i. p. 50,) and that the siege of
 idæa was both long and costly. (DEM. *contra ARIS-*
 . 656). After thus consolidating his power in the
 ighborhood of Olynthus, he set out again for the Stry-
 u, and founded Philippi on the site of the Thasian
 n Krenides, and thus opened up for his use the gold
 es of Pangæus, which yielded him 1000 talents per
 r, according to DIODORUS. We next find him attack-
 Methone, the last of the Athenian possessions on
 coast of Macedonia, and reducing it under his sway.
 om its position it was advantageous to Athens as
 rding a basis for maritime enterprise against Mace-
 ia and Olynthus, and the natural supposition would
 that Athens would endeavor to save it, but here also
 aid came too late, (DEM. PHIL. i. p. 50). The city
 s captured in 353, after a long and obstinate siege,
 d some Athenian citizens were sold as slaves. Freed
 m all restraint now in the region of the Thermaic
 lf, we soon after find Philip attacking Maroneia and
 dera, on the one side, and aiding the Aleuadæ against
 cophron and Onomarchus, on the other. Onomar-
 s had gone to the aid of Lycophron of Pheræ, and
 h such assistance that he was enabled to conquer
 Philip in two battles. The King was then forced to
 ire into Macedonia, and collect fresh troops. He had

interfered in the affairs of Thessaly even before the death of Methone, and had aided Eudicus and Simos against Lyncophron, (DEM. *de COR.* p. 241,) and now again for the third time entered Thessaly with a large army. The Thessalians disgusted with the tyranny of Lyncophron joined his standard in large numbers; the army met near the sea coast on the South of Thessaly, and Onomarchus was completely defeated,—he himself perishing in the flight. Chares was sailing past in his fleet, and afforded aid to the flying Phocians. In addition to all these wars he had successfully subdued the tribes of inner Macedon, Thrace, Illyria, and Pæonia. Philip thus became absolute master of Thessaly, having captured Pagasæ late in 353, he was enabled to establish a fleet, and for the first time to harass Athenian commerce. His power was now almost absolute in Greece. He ruled from Thermopylæ to the banks of the Hebrus, and from the Ægean sea to the mountains of Orbelus. He incorporated the Thessalian cavalry, and collected the imposts in all that country. Determined to end the Phocian war he marched towards Thermopylæ to enter Greece. Here however he was decidedly checked. The Athenians were informed of his march. An assembly was called. For once there were no *antidoseis*, and in a very few days a force of 5000 foot and 400 horse under the command of Nausicles was despatched, (DIODOR. XVI. 37, 38,) and arriving at the pass effectually prevented Philip from even hazarding an attack. He now returned into Thessaly, and was appointed Tagus of that country, gave up the command of all its finances, and subjected the whole country to his control. His cruisers swarmed on the Ægean, attacking

even before the Peloponnesos, Imbros, Scyros, and Geræstus, invaded the
 islands and Simos again, and carried off the Theoric galley
 (1.) and now again from the bay of Marathon. From Pagasæ his vessels
 with a large armada made incursions into Euboea, and effected the partial
 the tyranny of Lycurgus, drawing off of that island, to the Macedonian influence.
 numbers; the army meanwhile he was not idle, but having invaded Thrace,
 of Thessaly, set up and pulled down kings at his pleasure, extend-
 ed,—he himself governing his dominions chiefly at the expense of Amadocus and
 sailing past in Thracian Persobleptes, and finally laid siege to Heræum Teichos.
 Phocians. In alarm at Athens for the Chersonese was great. An
 assembly was convoked in November 352, and Charidemus
 successfully subdued selected as the fittest to command. Immense
 preparations were voted, and all men from 18 to 45 were
 Thracia, and Pæonia embarked, when news came that Philip was sick, and
 of Thessaly, on after that he was dead. All the preparations van-
 he was enabled to shed at this report, and the Athenian settled down to
 time to harass the worshipping of the gods, impeaching generals, and
 s now almost at listening to speeches, which flattered his vanity and did
 Thermopylæ to nothing more, except to induce a frame of mind destruc-
 Ægean sea to tate the Thessalians all that count
 ated the Thessa- ve to the best interests of his country.
 n all that coun- Although there is no direct authority for stating it,
 he marched tow- will the probability is very great, that at Athens many
 however he will speeches had been made about Philip, and more particu-
 were informed ly since his repulse at Thermopylæ. Before this
 For once there me there is no reason to suppose that his designs were
 w days a fore- be feared; since in the speeches of Demosthenes, *De*
 the command *symmoriis* and *Pro Megalopolitanis*, no allusion is made
 XVI. 37, 38,) to him as in any way concerned with Greece. On the
 erte? Philip the contrary Persia is then the power against which he sees
 into Thessa- ed to inveigh. But now all was changed. Phocion
 s g v command- and Eubulus did not care to excite the Athenians to
 e country to- and Eubulus did not care to excite the Athenians to
 Ægean, attack- personal exertions, in fact saw no reason for so doing;

and all their speeches were directed not against any particular enemy, but in favor of *peace at any price*. In the mind of Demosthenes saw matters in another light, and even if the senior orators might speak to please, and lull their hearers with insidious flattery, and pamper their love of ease, his voice would be raised for Pan-Hellenic freedom, and a more vigorous prosecution of war against an enemy who fought not openly, but by deception. In accordance with these views Demosthenes ascended the tribunal, and in the Archonship of Antiochus OL. 107, 1, delivered the following oration against Philip, known under the name of the FIRST PHILIPPIC.

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NOTES

TO THE

FIRST PHILIPPIC.

[Page 1.]

ἢ μὲν λέγειν.] *If it had been proposed to deliberate upon the new matter.* Five days before the meeting in the assembly, a wooden board (σανίς) was hung up, upon which the programme was written. SCHMANN *de Com. ATH.* p. 59. Προτιθέσθαι—said the Proedri when they proposed a subject for discussion. [Ἐπισχῶν ἂν.] *I should have delayed.* ἂν is used with the historical tenses, when the action of the relative sentence would take place under certain conditions which have not happened. JELF. 827, B.

τῶν εἰωθότων.] Scil. γνώμην ἀποφάνασθαι, and compare Isocrates Archidamus § 1, for a similar example of hesitation on the part of a speaker: ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν τις ἄλλος τῶν εἰθισμένων ἐν ὑμῖν ἀρεύειν ἀξίως ἦν τῆς πόλεως εἰρηκῶς, ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἤργον. By a law of Solon, referred to by Æschines in the exordium of his oration *contra Ctesiphontem*, those above fifty years were called upon to speak first; but the law was now no longer observed as we learn from ARISTOPH. *ACHAR.* 43. Still, so much respect was paid to Demosthenes that Demosthenes apologises for rising first.

εἰ δὲ μή.] An adversative force—*if this were not so.* JELF. 827, C.

πρότερον.] Since 356, when Philip captured Potidæa.

ἢ μὲν.] Stronger than ἢ νῦν, for the latter is joined with the present and future, but the former always with the present. Hoog.

ὑπακούειν.] Here and in PROM. *VINCT.* 270, governs the genitive, the more usual construction being with the accusative. JELF. 512.

[Page 1.]

Ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου.] The same expression occurs again a few lines below. REISKE translates it, *a praeterito tempore*. Here it is opposed to νῦν, below to τὰ μέλλοντα.

Βουλευεῖν—to give advice. Βουλευέσθαι—to deliberate or consult together. Λούειν—to wash. Λούεσθαι—to bathe. Βουλευέσθαι—to deliberate of more than one person, but when it is used of one person it means to deliberate with one's self, or in one's mind. So Λογίζεσθαι is *to reason, consider with one's self*; Εἰμῆσθαι—to reflect in one's own mind. BARKER.

Ἑμᾶς.] Ἑμᾶς is the reading adopted by SCHÆFER, but there is no special reason why the orator should include himself. On the contrary, he is plainly exhorting them to do something, and therefore ought to be excepted.

Ἀθυμητέον.] Sicil. ἐστὶν ὑμῖν.] Πράγμασιν is governed by ἀθυμητέον. We must not despond in our present affairs. SEAGER in the *Critical Journal*, LII., p. 235, quotes BACON's *Nov. Org.* to show that the experience of the past is the best ground of hope for the future.

[Page 2.]

Τὰ μέλλοντα.] *The future*. Cf. THUC. i., 138. Τῶν μελλόντων Μέλλω denotes an action yet incomplete, rather than what is to be done in the future.

Ὅτι οὐδέν.] On the force of the rhetorical question and answer see CIC. *de ORAT.* III. 54. SMEAD.

Ἐπεὶ τοι γενέσθαι.] *Since if, when you had done all that was proper, they had been so unsuccessful, there would have been no further hope.* Ἄν ἐλπίς.] ἄν is inserted because the orator is pointing out the true state of affairs. νῦν δ' ἐλπίς ἐστίν. ARNOLD Cf. *ibid.* iii. p. 111, 112, for similar sentiments expressed regarding actions past and present.

Ἐπειτα ἐνθυμητέον.] RÜDIGER wrongly translates this, *Illud considerandum quod et ab aliis auditis, et ipsi nostis, si in memoriam revocatis*. Rather, *Then you ought to consider both heard from others, and you yourselves know it, having recalled it to your memory*. The verbal is here joined with a dative of the person, which is the more rare construction; for more frequently verbs require an accusative of the person. Ἀκούουσι agrees with ἀναμνηστέον and αὐτοῖς is connected with εἰδόντων, and not with ἀναμνηστέον.

s. Cf. Is.
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iv εἰδῆτε.]
contemplating

[Page 2.]

s. Cf. ISO. 8, 12. Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι νοεῖουσιν, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων εἰ μηδεὺς ἀκροάσιν. ΣΑΥΡΡΗ. [ὅδ' χρόνος οὐ πολὺς.] No long time ago.

τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων.] 'Ἑλληνικῶν is wanting in many manuscripts, but we have only to compare other expressions of the same kind to see that it is required here. In the PHIL. ii. p. we have τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων. In his oration περὶ τῶν ἰδίων δικαίων, p. 199, he has τῶν ἰδίων δικαίων opposed to τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων, and in several other instances the adjective Ἑλληνικός similarly used. BREML. His advocacy of the common right of Greeks was the grand feature of his life. His policy was essentially Panhellenic. His views were not Athenian or Theban, those of Pericles or Epaminondas, but Grecian. Hence his frequent appeals to their national honour, and his proud assertion in the *De Corona*, p. 324, that they were overturning τὴν δ' ἑλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλήσιν ὄροι ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες.

[ὅν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον.] In 382 Phoebidas was sent by the Spartans to carry on the war against Olynthus, and on the march, through the treachery of Leontiades, polemarch of Thebes, he captured the Kadmeia, and enrolled Thebes in the Lacedæmonian confederacy. A number of exiles, among whom was Pelopidas, fled to Athens, and induced the Athenians to allow volunteers to assist them in expelling the Spartans. The garrison of Thebes was disarmed, and war was declared by Sparta. Chabrias occupied the narrow pass of Eleutherae, and Sphodrias advanced to the Thriasian plain and devastated the country. Some of the insular allies of Sparta revolted, and joined Athens. The Athenians and Thebans were reinforced, and led by Chabrias, attacked the Spartans under Agesilaus at Thespieæ, and defeated them. The war continued for several years, with various success, but in 376 Athens gained a decided advantage by defeating the Spartan fleet at Naxos. Peace was concluded in 371. GROTE, vol. X. chap. 77. Many of these events happening some twenty-five years before, must have been fresh in the recollection of his hearers.

[ἴν' εἶδῆτε.] Ἰδεῖν, of perception in general, *videre*. Θεᾶσθαι, of contemplating a single object. ἴν' εἶδῆτε, *ut cognoscatis*. The

[Page 2.]

repetition of cognate verbs is very frequent in Demosthenes, generally is found in verbs expressing certain operations of mind. The vocative, too, is nearly always placed as here between the verbs—compare *Or.* ii. p. 19. *νῦν δὲ θεωρῶν καὶ πῶν εὐρίσκω.* PHIL. III. p. 122. *λογίζεσθαι δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ θεωρῶν.* *Contra* ARISTOC. p. 629. *σκέψασθε δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρῶν.* SCHÆFER observes: All these terms are not really synonymous, and he considers their use twofold: one, to add force to the matter; the other, to make the oration more agreeable to the hearer.

Ἄν ὀλιγωρῆτε.] *If you lightly esteem it.* ἄν with the subjunctive signifies that the action under consideration depends upon some condition expressed or implied. JELF. 424 n.

Τῇ τότε βόμῃ.] JACOBS says that the arrogance of the Lacedæmonians after the battle of Ægospotamos drew down upon them the hatred of all the Greeks. The Corinthian War was fomented by the king of Persia, and Conon's victory at Onidos humbled them for a while, and lightened the yoke they were attempting to impose on Greece. This arrogance was ended by the defeat at Naxos above mentioned, and Demosthenes might thus fairly remind his countrymen of their share in the glorious conflict, and of their anxiety for the liberties and rights of the Hellenic nation.

Τούτου.] *Istius.* These words are used by a speaker in declaring against an opponent to mark his anger and contempt. *Or.* *In Cat.* i. 1. *Nos autem, viri fortes, satisfacere reipublica videmus si istius furorem ac tela vitemus.*

Ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν φροντίζειν ὧν ἔχρη.] *From our not giving heed to any one of the things which were necessary.*

Πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως.] *The abundance of power belonging to him.* XEN. *Anab.* i. ch. v. *Ἡ βασιλείως ἀρχὴ πλεονέχων μὲν χάρας, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὐσα.*] At the battle with Onomarchus in Thessaly the previous year, Philip commanded 20,000 foot, and 3,000 Thessalian horse, besides his fleet.

Τὸ τὰ . . . ἀπολωλέναι.] The allusion is to the country in the neighbourhood of the towns subsequently mentioned, and the country around Amphipolis which they always claimed.

Μέντοι.] *Tamen.* *Still.*

[Page 2.]

ent in Demosthenes,
ertain operations of
ays placed as here
νὸν δὲ θεωρῶν καὶ
δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ θεωρῶν
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Πύδναν.] A town of Macedonia in Pieria on the Thermaic Gulf, Greek colony subject to Sparta during the Peloponnesian War; subsequently it fell under the power of the Athenians, and was captured from them in 358. Æmilius Paulus defeated Perseus at this town in 168, and terminated the Macedonian kingdom. It was afterwards called Citrum by the Romans, and now Kitron.

Πορθιδαιαν.] A Corinthian colony on the isthmus of Pallene, about sixty stadia from Olynthus. It was captured by Philip in 356 and destroyed, the territory being given to the Olynthians. Alexandria was subsequently founded on its site, which became a large and flourishing city, and finally a Colonia Romana.

Μεθώνην.] An Eretrian colony on the Thermaic Gulf, forty stadia north-east of Pydna. In 353, it was captured and pillaged by Philip. During the siege, his right eye was destroyed by the blow of Aster. Strabo subsequently mentions it as a town of Macedonia. There was another town called Methone, in Thrace. There was also a Methone in Laconia, on the south-western peninsula. THUC. ii. 25.

πάντα τὸν τόπον κύκλῳ.] *And all that region round about*

Πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν.] The Chalcidic cities, with the colonies on Strymon, near Ampipolis and Krenides.

ἰδιονομούμενα καὶ ἐλεύθερα.] *Governed by their own laws, and*

ἡ κείνῳ.] This reading is given by BEKKER and DINDORF. κείνῳ by SCHÆFFER. BEKKER remarks that the elision or crasis of this word is universal in good manuscripts, and DINDORF observes that ἡκείνῳ is invariably written with the coronis omitted. SCHÆFFER makes no allusion to the word. The Ionic κείνος is never used by Demosthenes.

ὅτε.] When Philip ascended the throne, his kingdom was embraced in the territory immediately around Pella. Now, in addition to the cities mentioned above, he had subdued the Pæoniæ, and Illyrians, some Thracian towns near the river Nestus, as well as the whole of Thessaly.

ποσαῦτα.] RÜDIGER reads τοιαῦτα, but the orator does not say that like the fortresses were, but how many. SCHÆFF.

[Page 2.]

Ἐπιτειχίσματα.] Fortresses, like Declea in the Peloponnesian War, from which sallies could be made to intercept supplies and ravage the country. ARNOLD. The genitive which follows ought, in the opinion of Hemsterhuis, to be the dative. It is here what is called an objective genitive. But SCHÆFER observes that the genitive in such constructions has the same force as the dative. For a similar expression, see DE LIB. RHOD. p. 193. τῆς δ' ἀρχῆς ἐπιτειχίσμα. However, in THUC. i. 122, we have the reading ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῆς χώρας. The Latin term was *propugnaculum*. CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12, *propugnaculis imperii*.

Ἐρημον ὄντα συμμάχων.] Acc. before πολεμεῖν. How difficult was for him, being destitute of allies, to wage war with the Athenians, having, &c.

Ἐκτίσαστο δύναμιν] is the reading of BEKKER and DINDORF, which is also adopted by ARNOLD and WHISTON. SCHÆFER gives ἐκτίσαστ' ἄν, but remarks: *Nollem Rüdigerus, ex paucis nec optimis convocassit ἐκτίσαστο pro ἐκτίσαστ' ἄν*. For he goes on to state, "It is rare that the particle ἄν is to be understood in the second member when it occurs in the first, but oftentimes it is done; so that I nowhere have I erased it unless on the authority of the best manuscripts." However, where a sentence is simply a continuation of another, if ἄν be expressed in the first it may be omitted in the second. JELF. 432, Obs 2.

Κείμενα ἐν μέσφ.] The usual expression for such things, as drawn from the Palæstic art, as we see from IL. xxiii, 704:

ἄνδρι δὲ νικηθέντι γυναικ' ἐς μέσσον ἔθηκεν.

Also in IL. xviii. 507: Ἐν μέσσοισι δῶν χρυσοῖο τάλαντα. See also HER. viii. 26, and ix. 101. The Latin phrase was *præmia ponere*. ÆN. v. 292, 486. SALL. CAT. *Fortuna ea omnia prætoribus præmia posuit*.

Κατέστραπται.] Passive, but used reflexively in a middle sense. He has reduced under his power.

[Page 3.]

Φίλα ποιησάμενος.] MOUNTENEY reads φίλια, *neque ego improbem*. But comparing the present passage with HER. ii. 152, at v. 37, we shall find φίλα is more usual than φίλια, although

[Page 3.]

SCHÆFER remarks, there is a perpetual confusion in the use of ἐπι.
 [καὶ προσέχειν . . . ἅπαντες.] A hexameter. Another occurs
 DE CORONA, p. 275, quoted by LONGINUS in iii. FRAG. τὸν γὰρ
 Ἀμφίσηρον πόλεμον δι' ὅν εἰς Ἑλλάδιαν. In Latin, numerous ex-
 amples of hexameters in prose occur, as in CIC. pro AUCH. 1.
 qua me non infitior mediocriter esse—versatum; and also in
 ALL. CAT. xix. Cneii Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes.
 ὅς ἂν ὀρώσι . . . ἅ χρή.] Whom they may see prepared and
 willing to do what is necessary. The Perf. Pass. of παρασκευάζω
 means to be prepared, simply.
 [καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ.] VEMEL wishes us to construe this
 passage as follows: καὶ (ἂν) ἕκαστος ὑμῶν οὐ (i. q. ubi) δεῖ—εἰρω-
 ταν ὑπάρξῃ ἔτοιμος πράττειν, εἰσφέρειν—στρατεύεσθαι. And then
 the apodosis returns at καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα κ.τ.λ. And WHISTON fol-
 lows this order in his translation of the passage. But a preferable
 order, which is also given by BARBER, will be shown by my trans-
 lation: And let each of you, laying aside all pretending, be pre-
 pared to act where you ought, and in so far as you can, render your-
 self useful to the commonwealth, &c., and in a word, plainly, if you
 should depend upon yourselves alone. εἰρωτελαν—dissimulatio—think-
 ing they were not able for their work, but in reality being so.
 εἰσφέρειν—a frequent advice of our orator. See OL. ii. 27. The
 εἰσφορά was a war tax upon the Athenian citizens, according to
 their property. From THUC. iii. 19, it has been supposed that the
 year B.C. 428 was the first in which this tax was levied. But this
 is doubtful as there are references to it earlier than this year.
 The census of Solon was the original basis for this εἰσφορά; but
 the archonship of Nausinicus, B.C. 377, the people were divided
 into four classes for the levying of the rate. 1, All citizens
 whose property was rated above twelve talents; 2, All between
 twelve and six; 3, Those from five to two; 4, All between two
 and twenty-five minæ. No exceptions were made, even orphans
 and aliens were required to contribute. For further particulars
 see DIOT. ANT. and DEM. de SYM. Στρατεύεσθαι.—All Athenian
 citizens between eighteen and sixty were compelled to be en-
 rolled for military service, and after twenty could be called upon

[Page 3.]

for foreign service. But in the time of Demosthenes such leaders as Charidemus and Iphicrates were engaged to fight and the Athenian himself remained at home. The armies of the principal Greek States were mercenary, chiefly obtained from Arcadia, Switzerland of ancient Greece. The Carians were said to have been the first mercenary soldiers, and, as such, their name was afterwards used as a reproach.

Συνελόντι δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν.] 'Απλῶς is wanting in many manuscripts and εἰπεῖν is omitted by BEKKER and DINDORF, but given by SCHLEFFER. I have retained both; ἀπλῶς on the authority of the best German commentators, and εἰπεῖν from a comparison with a similar expression in XEN. ANAB. iii. 1; ὡς μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν. That I may state simply and briefly. Ὡς is omitted in the present passage, as is also the case in HER. vi. 30. "Ἐπαθε οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐδοκίειν ἐμοί: and also, EUR. MED. 230, γιγνώσκειν καλῶς, a preference to be preferred to that of MUSGRAVE: γιγνώσκεις καλῶς.

Ἄν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐβελήσῃτε γενέσθαι.] If you do not wish to depend upon others: i. e. if you wish to be your own masters. SCHLEFFER translates *e vobismet ipsis, non ex aliis, pendere*, a very good explanation, but hardly a translation. See i. COR. vi. 19. Οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἑαυτῶν. Ye are not your own masters; and also, SOPH. OED. 917. We have adopted the reading ἔν here instead of ἦν, which is given by nearly all editors. DINDORF says in his preface to his note on p. 51, 29, PHIL. i.: "This may be considered as most certain that Demosthenes nowhere uses ἦν," and he corrects the passage as we have given it.

Κομείσθαι.] *Vobis acquirere—you shall acquire for yourselves your own*—i. e. Pydna, Potidæa, Methone, and Amphipolis.

Τὰ κατερραβυμημένα . . . τιμωρήσεσθε.] You shall again receive what you have thoughtlessly lost, and inflict punishment upon them. Observe the peculiar use of the middle voice in these verbs, cf. XEN., MEM., iii, 5. καταρραβυμησάντες ὑστερίζουσιν.

Πεπηγμένα ἀθάνατα.] Cf. HOR. OD. iv. 7. 7. *Immortalia ne spernet monet annus.*

Καὶ μισεῖ . . . ἔχειν αὐτῷ.] And there are some who hate and fear and envy him even of those now seemingly most friendly to him. Ἐχειν used here for εἶναι, as also in HER. iii. 82, Ἐχοντες

[Page 8.]

nosthenes such lead *προέχειν* and its compounds are frequently used in this way, Ἐπέχειν, *προέχειν*, vi. 102. *προέχειν*, iii. 142. *προσέχειν*, iii. 48, and so of any other verbs, for which see JELF. 359.

ned from Arcadia, *καὶ ἐν*. PORSON'S rule is: In words joined by crasis, as *καὶ ἐν*, *κάν, κάν, κάν*, iota ought nowhere to be added unless *καὶ* forms a basis with a diphthong, as *κᾶτα* for *καὶ ἔτα*. *Præf. ad. HEC. p. xi.* *Κατέπηχε μέντοι. . . . νῦν.*] *But all these now cower down in*

anting in many ma *SCAPULA* says, s. v. *καταπήσσω*. *Proprie dici volunt de*

DINDORF, but given *simantibus, quae conspecto hoste prae metu se contrahunt in*

in the authority of *aliquo ad latendum commodo.*

a a comparison with *Ραθυμίαν.*] (from *ῥᾶον, θυμός.*) *Lentitudo—indifference—arising*

s *μὲν συνελόντι εἰς* from an improper estimate of the importance of the difficulties

mitted in the pres *with which they had to contend.*

Ἐπαθε οὐδὲν κακὸν *[Οἱ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας ἀνθρώπος.] To what a pitch of extrava-*

ώσκειν καλῶς, a re *gence the man has come.* The adverbs *ποῦ, πολ, πῆ, οὐ, οἶ, ἦ,* and

ιγνώσκεις καλῶς. *Some others are joined to the genitive case, as here; and also in*

u do not wish to dep *PH. EL. 1035, and XEN. CYR. vi. 1, 42. BEKKER reads ἀνθρώπος,*

n masters. SCHAE *which is adopted by ARNOLD, but rejected by DINDORF and SCHAE-*

ere, a very good *ER, who remarks: I do not remember of more than two places*

COR. vi. 19. Οὐκ *which favour BEKKER (OL. ii. 23, and PH. iii. 118.) If I shall find*

also, SOPH. CEd. *By others, I shall candidly point them out on the first occasion.*

instead of ἦν, wh *σελγείας is derived from ἀ, θέλω = mulceo, to lull gently with*

ys in his preface *the further idea of an evil intention, L. & S.—SUIDAS says it is*

nsidered as most *derived from ἀ Σέληγη, a town of Pisidia, whose inhabitants lived*

and he corrects *very intemperately. If such be the case it is not a solitary*

stance, since we have *Sybarite, an effeminate person; from*

acquire for yours *baris in Lucania, founded by Achæans and Træzenians, B.C.*

nd Amphipolis. *40, whose citizens were famed for their luxury and effeminacy.*

ου shall again rec *Καὶ οὐχ οἶός ἐστιν. . . . ἐπὶ τούτων.] And he is not the man,*

punishment upon *while keeping what he has subdued, to remain content with them.*

ce in these verbs, *οἶός ἐστιν, or οἶός τ' ἐστιν followed by the infinitive is properly*

ρεπίρουσιν. *οὗτος ἐστιν, ὥστε—he is not of such a kind as, &c. Οἶός εἰμι*

Immortalia ne sp *signifies I am wont; οἶός τ' εἰμι I am able. MATTH. GK. GR. 479.*

re some who hate *HUNSTON was therefore wrong in translating this passage, "and*

ngly most friendly *is unable to rest satisfied with them." "Μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων is*

ER. iii. 82, Ἐχον *properly, as here, to remain in this state of things, without attempt-*

g to advance any further; hence to let things remain as they

[Page 8.]

are. In DE. COR. 307, it is μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων = *to persevere in* affairs c
 μένειν ἐπὶ τινι = *insistere alicui.*—RÜDIGER. μοι 'Αχαι
 stow? A

'Αλλ' αἰετὶ περιστοιχίζεται.] *But he is always seeking* opended t
obtain something new, and while we are dallying and wasting EN. ii. 37
opportunities in idleness, he hedges us in on every side. Προσμη
 βάλλεσθαι and περιστοιχίζεσθαι are taken from the language
 hunters. Κύκλω πανταχῆ, *circum undique.* Cf. HOM. OD. viii. 2
 κύκλω ἅπαντη, and XEN. ANAB. iii. 1, 2: κύκλω δ' αὐτοῖς πᾶσι
 πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμῳ ἦσαν. contemptuo

Ποτ' οὖν πότε.] This abrupt method of Demosthenes Τέθνηκε φ
 is much admired for the attention it attracts on the part of tely recei
 hearers. me after t
 his illness.

Νῦν δὲ τί χρῆ ἡγεῖσθαι] *What, then, do you consider us* velv an int
is taking place now? Subaudi, εἰ μὴ ἀνάγκην. REISKE. ing was be
 probability

Τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι.] *The disgrace impends* movemnt o
over our present circumstances. Ὑπὲρ is here used with Gen. ncture the
 express the cause of our feeling, the more usual construction be man once it
 ὑπό, with the same case. JELF. 630, c. Kal γὰρ δὶ
 im." Lat.

Εἰπέ μοι.] Singular, though addressed to many. Φέρε and ἄγε used similarly. Cf. PLATO. EUTH. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Σώκράτης, τε ε die." W
 ὑμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι. In tragedy we sometimes find a plural verb, and nected w
 singular object addressed. SOPH. ŒD. COL. 1102, 1104, where rds τούτους
 old man addresses Antigone alone, fondly imagining that Isme Ταχέως.]
 is also there. ταχέως, διὰ τ
 "Ἐρερον Φίλ
 Παρὰ τὴν α
 by his own s
 exist an attac
 ass. from ἐπ
 Καίτοι καὶ τ
 nderstood, a
 happen him, a
 do of ourselve
 ult passage,
 very commer
 considering th
 or τοῦτο, τοῦ

Περμύοντες αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι.] We have followed ARNOLD in
 jecting κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, which BEKKER and DINDORF enclose
 brackets, and WHISTON stigmatises as useless verbiage. SCHEN
 reads αὐτοῦ, *hic loci, hoc ipso in foro.* LONGINUS quotes the pass
 in DE SUB. c. 18, with ἀλλήλων, which is probably a gloss. S
 a remarkable statement of ST. PAUL, shewing the conservat
 character of the Greeks, since even in his days "they spent the
 time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing
 Acts xvii. 21.

Γένοιτο γὰρ ἔν τι διοικῶν.] *For what can be greater* ult passage,
than a Macedonian man warring against Athenians, and regulat very commer
the common policy of Greeks? Observe the force of γὰρ in c
 sentence. It denotes the surprise of the speaker, that such a sta
 considering th
 or τοῦτο, τοῦ

[Page 3.]

affairs can exist. Cf. II. 1, 128. πῶς γὰρ τοὶ δάσσοσι γέρας μεγά-
μοι Ἀχαιοί; For how shall high-souled Greeks a prize on thee
know? Nam is similarly used in Latin, but always is good prose
suspended to another word. It may stand first in verse. VIAG.
EN. ii. 373, xii. 637. Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ, Vir Macedo, HOR. used
contemptuously.

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Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος. . . . ἀλλ' ἄσθενεί.] Alluding to the reports
recently received at Athens concerning Philip in Thrace. "Some
time after the siege of Methone Philip was attacked by a danger-
ous illness. The reasons which induced the Athenians to take so
deeply an interest in this occurrence are explained in OL. iii. The
king was besieging the fortress of Heræum in Thrace, and in all
probability made no secret of his designs on Byzantium. This
movement caused great excitement in Athens. Exactly at this
 juncture the news of Philip's illness reached Athens, and more
than once it was confidently asserted he was dead." ARNOLD.

Καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὐτός τι πάθῃ.] For even if something should happen
to him." Lat. "si quid humani acciderit," a euphemism for "should
die." WHISTON. In καὶ γὰρ, καὶ always means even, and is
connected with the word next following. HER. i. 77. Καὶ γὰρ
πρὸς τοῦτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίη. JELF. 786, Obs. 8.

Ταχέως.] Other forms of this adverb meaning quickly are: διὰ
ταχέων, διὰ τάχους, ἐν τάχει, σὺν τάχει, τάχυν, and ὡς τάχιστα.

"Ἐτερον Φίλιππον.] Antonomasia for "another treacherous enemy."
Παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βώμη κ.τ.λ.] Has he been aggrandized so much
by his own strength as, &c. Βώμη like robur means strength to
resist an attack. Τοσοῦτον, ὅσον, acc. of quantity. Ἐπηύξηται, Perf
pass. from ἐπαυξάνω.

Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο. εἴ τι πάθοι κ.τ.λ.] After τοῦτο, ἂν γένοιτο, is
understood, and even if this should be the case, if something should
happen him, and fortune, which always takes better care of us than we
do of ourselves, should aid us, and perform this. In this very diffi-
cult passage, rendered even more so by new readings from nearly
every commentator, I have given what seems the best translation,
considering the uncertainty of the passage. SCHÆFER here reads
for τοῦτο, τούτων, and removes the point. But in his explanations

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he calls the construction an *anacoluthon*, which with his reading is not. DINDORF brackets *καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιο* unnecessarily and AUGER reads (*καὶ γὰρ ἐξεργάσαιο!*) *Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο*. Cf. CORONA, 123; so, *καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο*, FALS. LÆG. p. 314, *Contra DION* 40; *καὶ γὰρ αὐ τοῦτο*, *Contra MEID*, p. 167. FRANKE. *Τὰ τῆς τύχης* for *ἡ τύχη*, with this distinction, that the latter means *fortune*, the former a *continuation of fortunate events*. Compare his statement about fortune here with the opening of the *Ol. ii.*

Τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες.] *Having a hand in all his affairs undisturbed.*

Ὅπως βούλεσθε.] *At your pleasure.* On the indicative see JENKINS 813.

Ἀμφίπολις.] A town on the Strymon about three miles from the Ægean. The port was Eion. It was originally called *Ἐννεα* and belonged to the Edoni. But Hagnon in 437 expelled the Edonians and called the place Amphipolis, for the reason of which see THUCYD. iv. 102. Brasidas in 424 captured it from the Athenians, and in 422 Cleon and he fell in battle before its walls. Brasidas was honored as a god by the Amphipolitans, and was regarded as the real founder. *DICT. ANT. s. v. Brasideia.*

Καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμας.] *Depending upon your resolutions and decrees*, i. e. if you depend upon, &c. On the meaning of this passage critics are much divided. WOLF translates *ἀπηρητημένοι*, *hesitating*. But SCHÆFER, *separated, removed*; he is used in this sense it governs the genitive which he supplies in *πραγμάτων*. We have followed WYTTENBACK in translating *depending upon*, in which sense it governs the dative. *Γνώμας παρασκευαῖς* to some such exhibitions of Athenian preparations and decrees as happened when Philip was besieging Heræum. The people assembled, voted 40 galleys and 60 talents to prevent his capturing the town. Nine months afterwards ten galleys were sent out, and five talents. In the subsequent part of the oration we shall find him speaking of formidable powers—*on paper*—where also the allusion may be the same.

Ὡς μὲν οὖν λέγων.] *Since then you know and are satisfied that you must do your duty, and be ready and willing to do it, I*

ich with his reading
 υδσαυτο unnecessary
 Kal γὰρ τοῦτο. Cf.
 s. 314, *Contra Dios*
 'FRANKE. Τὰ τῆς τύχης
 ter means *fortune*,
 Compare his statem
 DL. ii.
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now and are satis
 willing to do it, I

more of that. 'Ως with ^[Page 4.] *Gen. Abs.* indicates that the real exist-
 ce of the action of the participle is kept out of view, and repre-
 ated only as something supposed or thought of, referring to the
 on which a person formed or was to form of it.—JELF. 701.

Kal τὸ πλῆθος λέγειν.] *And the magnitude of the force, and*
supplies which shall be necessary, and other things which appear
me best and speediest to prepare, this now I shall endeavour to
plain. Kal δὴ, protinus, statim, now. It is also used very fre-
quently, especially in HERODOTUS, to introduce the most important
ause of a sentence, which seems to be its force here. See DON-
SON CRAT. p. 268.

Καὶνὴν καρασκευήν.] *A new plan of preparation, i. e. greater*
an any previous one, and likely to secure success. REISKE im-
properly explains: Novum appellat apparatus, requirens novos
lites atque recentea, novas naves, nova arma; vetusta diuturno
u detrita reproban.—SCHÆFER.

Ὅδ γὰρ οἱ ταχύ λέγουσι.] *For those who say "quick" and*
to-day" are not the people who speak most to your advantage.
 ἡμερον, Attic and comic for σήμερον, and so not a contraction for
 ἡμέρα, for the word is Homeric, and therefore prior to the usage
 the article. Σήμερον and τήμερον are to ἡμέρα, as σῆτες and
 τες to ἔτος.—L. & S.

Ὅδ γὰρ ἂν τὰ δυνήθημεν.] *For by our present expedition,*
cannot render ineffective what has already been done. Cf. HOR.
 o. iii. 29.

Non tamen irritum,
 Quodcunque retro est, efficiet.

Kal πόθεν.] *Understand, τὴν τροφὴν πορθεῖσα, and whence obtained*
the force must be which shall be able to hold out until we put an end
the war ourselves, or subdue the enemy. Διαλύσθαι πόλεμον το
ad a war by negotiations among the combatants; Διαλύειν πολεμον
the intervention of a third party.

Τοῦ λοιποῦ.] = *Ever again, hereafter, denotes future repetition.*
 KR. i. 189. ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικῶς μὲν εὐπετέως διαβήσεται,
 hereas τὸ λοιπὸν henceforth, denotes future continuance. SOPH.
 ANT. 311.

[Page 4.]

Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν.] When the same person thing is the nominative to a verb *sentiendi et declarandi*, and the accusative before an infinitive following it, the accusative is omitted, and the nominative stands before the infinitive. This construction is sometimes imitated in Latin. HOR. OD. iii. Uxor invicti Jovis esse nescis. "Ἐχειν = posse.

Μὴ κωλύων. . . . ἐπαγγέλλεται τι.] *Not wishing to prevent other one from offering another suggestion.* BREMI translates *quis alius vana et magnifica promittit.*" But I see no necessity for using the verb in a bad sense. It is rather an expression of modesty on the part of the orator. 'Ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, indeed, *multo polliceri*, and not as he explains it, *promittere quod praestare non possis.*

Μὲν οὖν.] Used to draw attention to what is said. Cf. SOCR. PHIL. 350. Κείνος μὲν οὖν ἔκειτο.

Τριήρεις πεντήκοντα.] The Athenian trireme, called by way of distinction *ναῦς*, was, as its name implies, formed with three banks of oars, and was distinguished still further by the subdivisions "ships of war" (*ταχείας*) and "ships of burden" or transport (*στρατιώτιδες, ἰππαγωγοί*). The trireme had in all 170 rowers, divided as follows: 62 on the upper tier, called *θρανῖται*, 54 in the middle, *ζευγῖται*, and 54 on the lower, *θαλαμῖται*. Besides these rowers there were about 30 supplementary oars (*κῶπαι, ῥινέφ*) to be used by the *ἐπιβάται* or *ὀπλίται* in case of the death of any of the regular rowers. On board each vessel was a *καλευστήρ* who gave the time to the rowers, and probably six officers. They made up the entire crew of a trireme. GROTE, c. v. xlix. The aristocles laid the foundation of the Athenian fleet, having caused 200 triremes to be built for the war against Ægina, and after the time until the end of the Peloponnesian War, three or four hundred were always ready. This is accounted for by the fact that he caused a law to be carried appropriating annually a sum from the mines of Laurium, sufficient to equip 20 new ones. The building of them, as we learn from DEM. *contra ANDROT*, p. 598, was under the care of the Council of 500.

Δεῖν.] The infinitive is used absolutely to imply that a thing must be done, or as a general expression of necessity, and in the

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et declarandi, and a
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rs, c. v. xlix. The
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ANDROT, p. 598,

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necessity, and in th

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ainings may be used of all persons. SOPH. EL. 8. Οἱ δ' ἰκάνομεν
σκειν. OD. x. 431. Ἄ δειλοί, πόσ' ἔμεν.
Ἐτ' αὐτοῦς. . . . ἐμβᾶσιν. And then, that you so make up your
and, that if it were necessary, you would yourselves sail away,
being embarked upon them. After ἔχειν γνώμην, διακεῖσθαι γνώμην,
and such like, the Genitive absolute with ὡς is the usual construc-
tion. XEN. ANAB. i. 3, 6. Ὡς ἐμοῦ ἰόντος. . . . οὕτως ἔχε τὴν
γνώμην. EUR. MED. 1311. "Here the acc. absol. is used with the
gerundive, of which I am unable to furnish another exam-
ple." ARNOLD.

Τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἰπέων] 500, for each tribe furnished 100
ARNOLD. That is if the Athenians kept up the force they had at
beginning of the Peloponnesian war. ARISTOPH. EQUIT. 225,
ARISTON. For the construction see JELF. 442, c. 1, D.

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ππαγωγὸς τριήρεις.] Cavalry transports, constructed from the
ταχῆϊαι, or war ships, strengthened for the purpose of carrying
additional burdens. They were first used by Pericles in the
early years of the Peloponnesian war. THUC. ii. 56.
λοῖα,] for carrying provisions and other necessaries of an army.
is Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὀλυμπον.] In 352, Philip being in-
vited by the Thessalians, marched into Thessaly, and was defeated
by Onomarchus, the general of the Sacred War, in two battles. He
retired into Macedonia, but returned soon after, largely rein-
forced, and in turn Onomarchus was defeated at Pagasæ. Soon
after Philip was proceeding to the invasion of Phocis, when the
Athenians, fully aroused, sent off a land and naval force to guard
the pass of Thermopylæ. Philip, prevented from entering into
Phocis, retreated to Macedonia, and immediately set out for
Thrace, besieged and captured several towns, and finally sat down
before Heræum on the Propontis. From OL. i. p. 13, we learn
that the news came that he was sick; that, having recovered, he raised
a new army, and besieged Heræum and marched against Olynthus. It will
be seen that Demosthenes observed the chronological order of
events here as well as in many other passages in his speeches.
[ἔργων.] Observe the position, at the end of the sentence with
which it is connected, in order to give it emphasis.

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Εἰς Εὐβοίαν.] Understand ποτὲ ὠρμήσατε. REISKE. The Euboeians joined the Athenian maritime confederacy in 378 B. C. After the battle of Leuctra the island fell under the power of the Thebans. In 385-7, discontent having arisen against the Theban supremacy, a large force was sent to keep the Eubœans down. They applied for aid to the Athenians, and, an animated appeal having been made to them by Timotheus, (given by DEM. in REB. CHER. p. 108) they manned and equipped an adequate force and in a very short time compelled the Thebans, under truce, to evacuate the island. GROTE, CHAP. LXXVI.

Εἰς Ἀλιάρτον.] In 395 Lysander, who defeated the Athenian fleet at Ægospotamos, and thus ended the Peloponnesian war, marched to the attack of Haliartus in Boeotia, in consequence of the disputes between Thebes and Sparta. His army was defeated and he himself slain by Neochorus. Pausanias, the Spartan king, arrived soon after, but Athenian auxiliaries in the meantime had come up under Thrasybulus and Orthobulus, and he was unable to conquer the town. He retired after burying the dead bodies of Lysander. GROTE ch. LXXXIV.

Πρώην εἰς Πύλας.] B. C. 358-2, the latter part of the year. εἰς Πύλας, vide supra.

Οὔτοι παντελῶς εὐτρεπεῖς ὑμᾶς.] *Nor is this a matter to be regarded by any means lightly, even if you do not do this (i. e. march out against him) since either through fear, knowing you to be unprepared, he may keep quiet.* Οὔτοι παντελῶς = non sane proterit SCHÆFER; who also would read οὐ τι because *hujusmodi particula fortissime negantibus recte additur.*

Ἐῖπεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς.] This does not refer to Æschines since his connection with Philip arose some years later, but more particularly to the actors Neoptolemus and Aristodemus, who had been in Philip's interests.—GROTE, chap. LXXIX.

Εἰσι γὰρ εἰσι.] Cf. CIC. in CAT. l. 1. *Fuit, fuit ista quondam virtus*, and VIRG. ÆN. ii. 602, *divum, inclementia divum.* COR. Οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως ἡμάρτετε. Also, CIC. pro MANIL. 12, *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani.*

Ἀφύλακτος ληθῆς.] Active οὐ φυλαττόμενος. SCHÆFER—*may be taken off his guard.* For a similar sentiment see THUC. iii.

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REISKE. The Eubœan *Μηδέν* *ὄντος*.] "*Μηδέν* rather than *οὐδέν* on account of *ἴνα*." ANKER. *Μηδέν* is used subjectively, and expresses that one *thinks* something is not; *οὐδέν* objectively, that it *really is not*. For a beautiful example of *μή* and *οὐ* with their compounds, see XEN. *Mem.* iii. 50., quoted in Hoogeveen, s. v. *μή*, with his remarks on it.

[*Ἄν ἐνδῶ καιρόν*.] BEK. RÜD. DIN. but Schæfer reads *καιρός*, and gives an adequate force to the present reading, "*quod mihi etiam placet*, scilicet *ἴνα*." If he give an opportunity. Perhaps this was the easiest way Demosthenes could put the case, for Philip was not likely to show away opportunities. He was awake now.

[*Πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις*.] *Πρὸς δὲ τούτων* = *ante hæc*. WOLF; also adopted by ARNOLD without comment. But *πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις*—in addition to these, would seem to convey the orator's meaning better than *πρὸς τούτων* before these. For he evidently regards the greater plan involving the less, and it would be of little use to have a prior force unless its depredations could be followed up by the regular force of 50 triremes which he proposes.

[*Μή μοι μυρίους δυνάμεις*.] After *μή μοι*, sc. *ἔιπης*. Do not give me of those 10,000 or 20,000 mercenaries, nor those paper forces of yours. JACOBUS interprets the word *ἐπιστολιμαίους* by *ὡς ἐν ἑπιστολαῖς γραφομένους μόνον δυνάμεις ἔργῳ δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ θεωρουμένους*. And SCHÆFER calls this much better than REISKE who explains it, by letters sent from the city to the generals, promising large reinforcements which were never sent. D'OLIVET again refers it to the letters sent to mercenary soldiers containing promises never to be fulfilled. MR. KENNEDY's note is: "Literally, *written letters*, that is promised to the generals or allies, but never sent." Comp. Shaks. Henry IV., part ii., act 1.:

"We fortify in paper, and in figures.
Using the names of men instead of men."

It may not be out of place to suggest a new interpretation. From the previous note we see that all males from 18 to 60 were enrolled for service. These were all military men *on paper*, but when a levy came for active service, few could be found. I would then suggest that he refers here to these lists of men. Any one who

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has heard of the immense levies during the late American war will have some idea of a *paper army*.

'Αλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται.] *But (a force) which shall belong to the state, a much finer reading than "ἀλλ' ἢ — ἀλλὰ μόνον — solummodo."*—REISKE. "The reference is to a force which does not entirely belong to the State, but made up partly of mercenaries, but all under the command of an Athenian."—ARNOLD.

'Ἔσται δ' αὐτῆ κ. τ. λ.] *And what this force shall be, and how great, and whence it shall obtain supplies, &c.* Τὴν τροφήν, including here only maintenance, not pay. The expression in *Cæsar's frumentum militibus metiri*.

Καὶ πῶς ταῦτ' ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν.] *And how will it wish to do this, i. e. how shall this force act as "one of the city," and not as a mercenary? The common reading is ἐθελήσετε. Ποιεῖν ταῦτ' relates to ἀλλ' ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται — ἀκολουθήσει.*

Ἐἴσως μὲν λέγω.] *I say then mercenary soldiers.* The orator begins with the most popular branch of the army first, as the Athenians were proper was too indolent to fight, if he could hire anybody to do it for him.

Καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσετε.] *Take care that you do not.* Cf. *XEN. ANAB.* 7, 3. "Ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες. In each case the verbs depend upon ὄρατε. Also, *PHIL.* iii. p. 180; ὅπως μὴ πάνθ' ἐπιποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήσεται.

'Αλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες φαίνηται.] *But having done as provided a little, add to it, if it seem too small.*

Λέγω δὴ.] *I say then.* Δὴ = *igitur*. He now resumes his argument, having purposely said as little as he could about mercenaries, but instead speaks of the army as a whole, in which, however, mercenaries were to form three fourths.

'Ἐξ ἧς ἂν τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας δοκῆ.] *Of whatever age may seem good to you.* Ἡλικία means *manhood, men of serviceable age*. *HER.* i. 209, *THUC.* vii. 60, viii. 75. "On reaching the age of twenty, every Athenian citizen was registered in his proper *δημόσιον* and in the temple of *Agraulos* took a solemn oath to obey and support the laws, as a citizen or soldier. The military power was accordingly divided into forty-two enrolments (*ἡλικίαι*), each of which was named after the *Archon* under whom it was registered.

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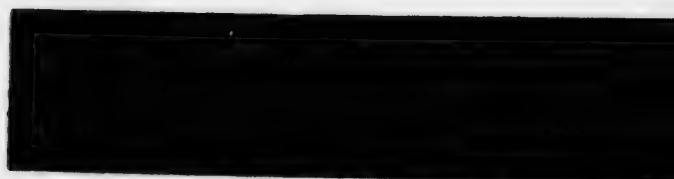
distinction was made. Rich and poor, noble and ignoble, and philosophers were compelled to fight. Plato, Socrates, Thucydides, Aeschylus and Sophocles, were soldiers. All served without pay, and Pericles introduced a law to remunerate them when on service. It was the aim of Demosthenes to arouse the Athenians to the ancient desire of military renown, and towards this his eloquence was directed."—*Abridged from SMEAD.*

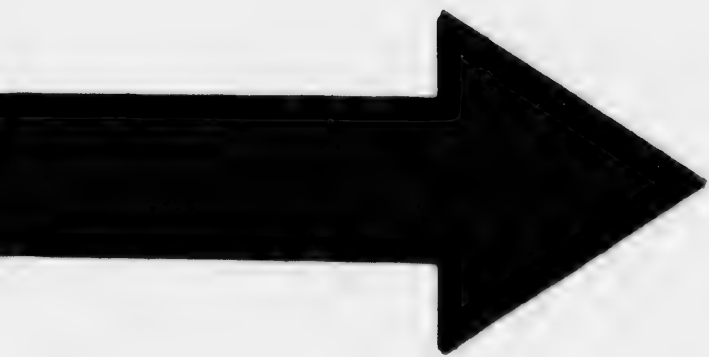
κρόνον τακτὸν μὴ μακρὸν ἀλλ' ὅσον κ.τ.λ.] Observe that he skilfully he insinuates his idea, *a fixed time, not long, but as long as may seem good.* His object was to get the plan adopted, and to leave its subsequent continuance to a chapter of chances. *διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις*, "by way of relieving each other = *viciisim.*" See ARNOLD. On the case of *ἀλλήλοις* see JELF. 593. 1, 2. Cf. THUC. 2. 27. Κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνου, which is the more usual construction. For another example of the dative, XEN. CYR. i. 4, VEMEL. also XEN. ANAB. i. v. 2. Διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις.

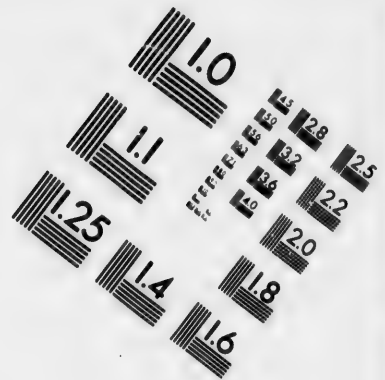
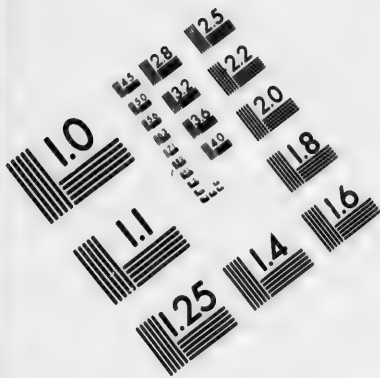
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ἑκατὸν πεπίας διακοσίους.] *Two hundred cavalry*, or in a proportion of ten, which was the usual way. VEMEL. In the Roman army the proportion varied, but the general ratio of horse and foot was one in fourteen. No difference was made in the length of service among the Greeks, but the Roman cavalry served only ten campaigns, the foot soldiers twenty. DICT. ANT. s. v. ARMY. *τοὺλάχιστον.*] For the construction of this and similar words see ARN. 579, 6.

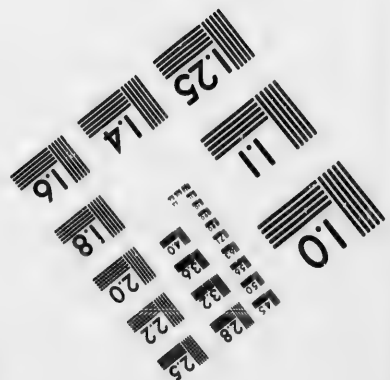
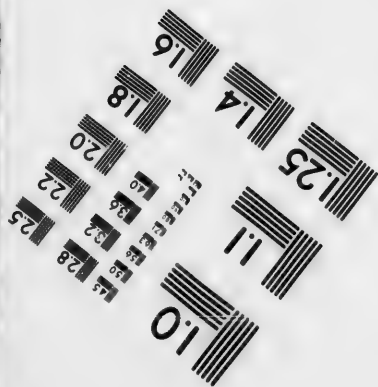
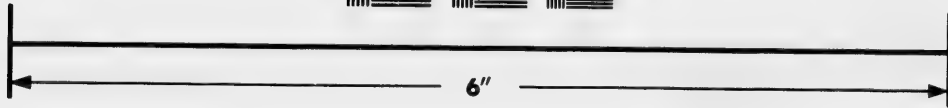
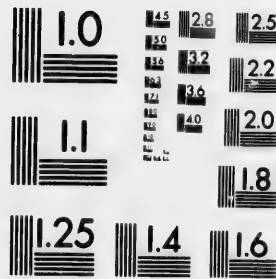
ἔλεν.] *Hæc hactenus. So far, so good.* Cf. EUR. MED. 386. ἔλεν, ἢ τὴν τεθναῖσι. SOPH. ŒD. COL. 1305. Its use is to sum up a statement, and intimates that on the point sufficient has been said. *ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα.*] *Ten swift triremes*, i.e., battle ships, which were made light but strong so as to be able to manœuvre with ease and dispatch. They were also worked entirely by oars, while *ἱππαγωγοί* generally carried sails. *εἰ γὰρ ἡμῖν.*] *For since he has a naval force, we, too, must have ships of war.* Philip, by gaining access to the ports of Thessaly, the means of raising a great naval force, and the produce of the mines in the neighbourhood of Mount Pangæus was applied for some time to building a force sufficient to cope with Athens on her own







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element. Ἡμῶν. Cf. for a similar construction of a dative after impersonal. SOPH. ANT. 732.

Ἀσφαλῶς.] *Without danger.* Hence his request for ten ships accompany them.

Πόθεν δή.] *Δή* is used with interrogatives to increase the force of the interrogation, and to denote that a definite answer is expected. JELF. 723, 2.

Τηλικαύτην.] *Accipe sensu diminutivo, tantillam.* SCHÆFER. *very small.* Ἀποχρῆν. This word is now written without the subscript, and is the regular infinitive of ἀποχράω, the Ionic βεῖ ἀποχράω. BOUCH. *Corp. Inscrip.*

Πολίτας στρατευομένους.] Various ways of construing these words are given. Some make τοὺς στρατευομένους subject, and πολίτας predicate. But translate, *And why I order the citizens to undertake military service.* True, all the force was not Athenian, but there were 500 of them, and an orator speaking to please could very well pass over the other 1500.

Τοσαύτην.] To be taken in a diminutive sense, sc. κελεύω.

Ἐνι.] For ἔνεστι. The accent is thrown back to distinguish from ἐνι preposition, poetiè from ἐν. Also when a preposition stands after the word it governs, the accent is thrown back.

Τὴν ἐκείνῳ παραταξομένην.] *A force to be drawn up in battle array against him,* to be contrasted with ληστεύειν following, which means to *harass an enemy* by piratical excursions. His adversary then, is not only to fight him openly, but also to send out predatory bands to cut off his supplies. Cf. παραταξομένην with HER.

31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ἀντετάσσαντο ὧδε.

Τὴν πρώτην.] = *Primum.* Cf. OL. iii. 29. HER. iii. 134.

Ὅδ τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον. . . . δεῖ.] *There is no necessity that it should be enormous, nor ought it be altogether contemptible.*

Ὅτι καὶ πρότερόν ποτ' τὴν πόλιν.] *Because I have heard the state once kept up a mercenary force at Corinth.* This was during the war of the allies against Sparta in 395 B. C. On the Spartan side Agesilaus led the army, and during the course of the war captured Lechæum and Cenchræa, the ports of Corinth, together with Crommyon, and Sidus, and finally shut up the city in Corinth. It was during this war that Iphicrates with his

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defeated a *mora* of Lacedæmonian horse, and for a time renewed the courage of the allies. Iphicrates commanded the mercenary troops until the year 392, when he was succeeded by Chabrias. JACOBS says that Polystratus must have been associated in command, as he is mentioned by ARIST. *P. AUT.* v. 173. Some read for Πολύστρατος, Polutrophos, *ARIST. XEN. HIST.* while others again propose Callistratus, from DEM. *contra TIM.* p. 1187. The war was ended by the peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387.

Εξ οὗ δ' ἀτὰρ γεγύνασιν.] *But from the time that your mercenaries have warred alone for you, they have conquered both friends and allies, and your enemies have increased to a portentous extent.* 'Εξ οὗ = ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐξ οὗ. *Ex quo tempore.* Παρακούσαντα.] *Having negligently attended to the wars of our Commonwealth, have gone away, &c.* The verb παρακούπειν is to perform anything loosely and in a hurry, where, as soon as you have touched it, you forthwith run away to something else. REISEK. Another critic gives it the meaning of θρόπειν, *delicias facere*, but this is hardly probable. As to the general estimation in which these mercenaries were held, you may learn from Isocrates, who calls them κοινούς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐχθρούς. WOLF.

Πρὸς Ἀραβαζόν.] The Social War broke out in 357 B. C. by the revolt of Byzantium, Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, from the Athenian empire. The conduct of the war was given to Chabrias, who sailed away to Chios, but was almost immediately slain (LELAND B. i. iii). After some quarrelling between Iphicrates, Timotheus and Chares, the latter at length, in 356, succeeded to the command. He set out with a large fleet to attack the islands, but, having no money, he was compelled to yield to the solicitations of his soldiers, and hire them to Artabazus, satrap of Daskylium, then in revolt against the king of Persia. By their aid Artabazus defeated Tithraustes, the general of the Persians, and Chares was so handsomely remunerated that all parties returned to Athens in great glee. But the king of Persia sent envoys to state he would assist the enemies of Athens in the war on account of the aid lent Chares, when the Athenians, thoroughly alarmed, sent messages to the islands regarding a peace, which was finally concluded in 356 B. C. GROTE, chap. lxxvi.

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‘Ο δὲ στρατηγός.] *And the general follows.* “Δὲ connect notions which the second is distinguished from the first, but not opposed to it.” ARNOLD.

Εἰκότως.] *Ut par est, And how else?*

Τὰς προφάσεις παρακαταστήσαντες.] *Take all cause of excuse from both general and soldiers, provide pay, and place soldiers from home over your generals as inspectors of their actions.* Ἐπόπτας, *Inspectores*, exquisite dictum, nam sic ii, qui majoribus mysteriis initiati erant appellabantur. FRANKE. ÆSCH. PROM. 29. Καὶ σὺ δὴ πόνων ἐμῶν ἦκεις ἐπόπτης; The word was also used verbally, of attaining the highest earthly happiness. ARISTOT. KAN. 746. “Παρακαταστήσαντες. περικαταστήσαντες. Malim simplicius παραστήσαντες. REISKE. Non item ego.” SCHÆFER.

Ἐπεὶ νῦν γε.] *Since now it is laughable how we manage our affairs.* Cf. Ποιεῖν γέλωτα. *To make a joke.*—HERODOTUS.

Ἄλλὰ Φιλίππῳ.] “These words, ‘we carry on war with Philip’ must not be taken literally, for, at the time when this speech was delivered, there had been no open rupture; although the business of Amphipolis, the sending troops to Eubœa, which were opposed by a Macedonian force (OL. 106, 3), (the proper date is OL. 107, and the measures adopted in consequence of Philip’s Thermopylæ, (OL. 106, 4) and his proceedings in But his conduct for some years previous had been aggressive at Athens. He had seized the sacred gallery at Marathon and besieged Heræum, besides other overt acts of war against them. Οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δὲ δύο;] *Are you not accustomed to elect from among yourselves, ten taxiarchs, and generals, and phylarchs, and two hipparchs?* The Strategus was first appointed after the remodelling of the Constitution by Cleisthenes, and as well as the other officers mentioned, was elected by χειροτονία. This was the usual way of electing men for the public service, in case of a vote for war or peace, for naturalizing a foreigner, for releasing a state debtor, and for every case of privilegium, it was necessary that the voting should be by ballot, ψῆφος. The generals were almost always ten in number, and in the time of the Persian wars exercised command of the army one day each in turn.—HERODOTUS.

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110. But in the later years, as in the time we are speaking of
two or at most three were sent out. Three generals, Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus, commanded in the war in Syracuse, and in 456, in the Social War, Iphicrates, Timotheus, Menestheus, and Hipparchs were sent out. However, the two former were not intended for command, but simply to give advice to Menestheus. Taxiarchs were so called from commanding a τάξις, which was the principal division of the Athenian hoplites. The Phylarchs were appointed to superintend the management of the cavalry, and subjected to the control of the Hipparchs in the same way as the Taxiarchs were to the generals. They were originally only four, but when the tribes were increased to ten, a similar number of them was required. Hipparchs were generals of the cavalry and exercised supreme authority over the Phylarchs. They were always two in number.—ARIST. AV. 799. Sometimes in foreign wars, only one was appointed.—HER. vii. 154. For further particulars see DICT. ANT. s. vv.

Πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός.] *Except one man, whom, &c.* From this we see that the ten generals in his time did not go to war as formerly.

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Οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῶν.] *The rest marshal the processions for you.* Πέμπειν is used for ἄγειν with the words χορόν, ἑορτήν πομπήν. This latter word applied to all the public processions of the year. Ἱεροποιῶν.—Magistrates who were appointed annually, ten in number, to conduct the usual sacrifices, including those belonging to the quinquennial celebrations, except the Panathenæa. There was also a higher rank of them who sacrificed to the Eumenides. These last were chosen by open vote, and did not slay the victims themselves, but only performed at the commencement of the sacrifice.—DICT. ANT. These last are specially mentioned by DEM. *contra* ΜΕΙΔ, 552.

"Ὅσπερ γὰρ . . . τὸν πόλεμον.] *For as puppet makers, you appoint your generals for the market not for the war.* These images were made of clay and baked much in the same way as terra cotta figures (ΛΥΦΡΕ) were painted in beautiful colours, and thus made a show when exposed for sale in the market. They are elsewhere called κροσσάδοι, and πηλοπλάθοι, and doubtless generals and soldiers

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were represented as well as other kinds of images. All were exposed for sale in the market place, which gives more point to the sarcasm of Demosthenes, as these generals of theirs were busy in the market attending to the processions. In confirmation see "Luo. *Lexiphanes*, T. ii. p. 347. Ἐλελήθεισιν σαυτῶν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλαττομένοις ἐοικῶς, κεχρωσμένοι μὲν μίλτῳ καὶ τῷ κυανῷ, τὸ δ' ἔνδοθεν πῆλινός τε καὶ εὐθρυπτος ἐστὶν." SCHLEFER.

Ὁὐ γὰρ ἐχρήν . . . ἢ δύναμιν.] *But was it not necessary that your commanders of divisions should be of yourselves, your leaders of cavalry of yourselves, your generals, leaders of your own, that the force might really be one of the commonwealth?* On γὰρ with interrogatives, see JELF. 872, i. Ἐχρήν εἶναι = *Oportebat esse, at non sunt*; ἐχρήν ἂν εἶναι = *oporteret esse, at non oportet*.—FRANKE. ἦν—on this particule with the Ind. see JELF. 813, and compare the following parallel constructions. (ED. REX. 1387. EUR. HIR. 647. DEM. p. 837. Ἰν, εἴ τι ἐγγίγντο ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἦν, p. 84. Ἰνα μὴδὲν δίκαιον λέγειν ἐδόκουν. Observe that ἂν is not used in this construction, even when there is direct reference to a preceding hypothetical sentence containing the condition of the dependent clause.

Ἄλλ' εἰς Ἀθήνων.] From THUC. vii. 57, we learn καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτῆ φωνῆ καὶ νομίμοις ἔτι χρώμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἰουβριοὶ καὶ Αἰγυπτιῶται. And since such was the case it would be more than likely that an annual deputation should be sent from Athens to participate in the processions which we learn were celebrated there with great magnificence.—PHILOSTRATUS HEROIC, xix. 14. Lemnos had been taken and colonized a few years before the battle of Marathon.—HER. vi. 140. Grote's explanation of this expression εἰς Ἀθήνων πλεῖν is: "It seems, as if it had come to be a proverbial expression at Athens for getting out of the way, and avoiding the performance of a duty;" and so he interprets the present passage. But, as WHISTON remarks, he adduces no authority for his statement, and is quite mistaken, as the expression did not mean that. The absence in the islands of the Ægean was often pleaded for delay, but if we except Σκυρία δίκη we find no use of any such terms as proverbial. But it is true that when a man had a bad case at law

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absconded, the euphemism was ἐν Λήμῳ ἢ ἐν Ἰμβρῷ εἶναι. SYON. In DEM. *contra* OLYMPIOD, p. 1174, we find that Olympiodorus was compelled to go with the army to Acarnania, which makes it appear that generals were sometimes sent away to avoid agreeable law suits.

[Menélaon.] It is very doubtful if mention is made of this general anywhere else. Some make him the son of Amyntas and Argæa, and half brother of Philip, his brothers being Archelaus and Aridaeus; but "Ab Atheniensibus non poterat χειροτονεῖσθαι, si qui esset Atheniensis; Menelaus ut peregrinus et ξεναγός non κεχειροτονημένος.—SCHÆFER. WOLF also says: Imperatorum Athenensium Atheniensem esse oportere. "The Menelaus mentioned by Demosthenes as having been the commander of the army despatched to the frontier after Philip's unsuccessful attempt on Thermopylæ, is said to have been the half brother of the Macedonian King, spoken of by JUSTIN and HARPOCRATION, s. v. Μένελαος. D'OLIVET, on the other hand remarks, that even if Philip were not on the best terms with his brothers, the Athenians could scarcely have selected one of them for a post of such importance. It seems, however, certain that this Menelaus was a foreigner."—ARNOLD. "But the Athenians sometimes conferred the command on foreigners. An example of this was Charidemus Oreus."—SMEAD. This is not a case in point, for in the introduction of the oration, *contra* ARISTOC, he is expressly called τὸν πολίτην, an adopted citizen.

[Περαιῶν.] *This then I shall now proceed to show.* Περαιῶν is the reading of REISKE, in his first edition; in the second, περαιῶν. And rightly, since περαιῶν like εἶμι = ibo, has here at least a future signification.—WHISTON.

[Χρήματα τοίνυν.] For the case of this word see JELF. 477, 2. A nominative is used in seeming apposition to a substantive of a preceding sentence in an oblique case. Some regard it as the nominative absolute. Others that is subdivided into ἡ τροφή, with ἀνηρέσιον in apposition.

[Τάλαντα ἐνεθήκοντα καὶ μικρόν τι πρόσ.] *A little more than 90 talents.* There were three talents used by the Greeks—the Attic, Siculo and Æginetan. The talent meant here is the first of these,

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whose value may be stated at £243 15s. sterling. The Attic coins have been fully treated of by Mr. Hussey; and from him we learn that an obol was equal to 1.625 of a penny; 6 obols made a drachm 9½d. nearly; 100 drachms a mina, £4 1s. 3d.; and 60 minæ a talent £243 15s. The expense of Demosthenes' expedition would therefore be £22,425=§109,120. Πρός an adverb, cf. EUR. OR. 6. Μενέλαε, σοι δὲ ταδὲ λέγω, δράσω δὲ πρὸς. PHAEN. 610. κατακτενῶ γε πρὸς.

Τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου.] For each month. Genitive of time.

Εἰ δὲ τις, κ.τ.λ.] But if any one thinks that to procure rather money for the soldiers is a small provision for the war, &c. The passage appears corrupt, and an article is clearly wanted to define the which is subject to the verb εἶναι. It may be doubted, as BARRINGTON remarks, whether it is good Greek without the article.

Οὐδὲ τῶν συμμαχῶν.] Demosthenes did well to add this passage to his graph, as the Athenian armies being so badly paid, would have shown very little hesitation in plundering their allies in the Ægean Sea. They made war support itself, but generally their friends, not their enemies, suffered the consequences.

Κἀγὼ δὲ συμπλέων.] DINDORF reads ἐγὼ συμπλέων, and enclosed all from ἐγὼ to ἐξῆ in brackets. But REISKE has quoted the words from HERMOGENES, which thus establishes their claim to the correctness of the reading adopted by him, as well as SCHÆFER. In the great variety of readings for the passage I have adopted what seemed the best, and on the common reading will remark that the absence of any conjunctive particle would lead to the supposition that it was wrong. HERMOGENES, p. 347, has, κἀγὼ συμπλέων ἐθελουτῆς πάσχειν ὀτιοῦν ἔτοιμος ἐὰν μὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἐξῆ, for which REISKE has corrected κἀγὼ δὲ as we have given in the text. "Ετοιμοὶ see JELF. 376.

Πόρου ἀπόδειξις.] After these words a new oration begins, according to DION. HALICARN (ad. Ann. 1, 10) which he states to have been delivered in the Archonship of Themistocles, 347-6 B.C. But the evidence is all the other way, and even an epitome of the arguments would be too large for these notes. The only thing necessary to be said is that of the heading of the oration given by DIONYSIUS: Τὴν ἐκτὴν τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν ἀπήγγειλ-

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κοσθένης περι τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ
 ἔσθ' ἵνα μὴ ᾖ ἡ ἕκτη, ἀλλ' ἡ πέμπτη, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς
 ἔστιν ἵνα δικαιώσῃ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν νησιωτῶν
 καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεων. We may conclude, then
 that the oration which we have is a unit, and that DIONYSIUS either
 made a gross blunder, or alluded to some oration not now extant
 bearing the heading which he has given for the remainder of this
 oration. Further particulars will be found in TOURREIL, AUGER, BEK-
 KENDORF, BREMI, SCHLEFER, and WINIEWSKI.

ἐδυνήμεθα εὐρεῖν.] Have been able to discover. The information
 is probably derived from the πορισταὶ who levied the extraordi-
 nary contributions on the Athenians, and from their report the
 ἀποδείξεις had read the ἀπόδειξις immediately given before, which
 was prepared by Demosthenes himself from information
 derived from them. For δυνήμεθα, δυνάμεθα is given in some
 editions.

Ἐπειδὴν δ' χειροτονήσατε.] And when you vote upon the
 propositions of the speakers, vote whichever one pleases you. The
 speaker does not wish to force them to adopt his motion in prefer-
 ence to any other, but let them choose for themselves, as in that
 case they will be the more likely to carry out their decree.

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ὁκοίτε δέ μοι κ. τ. λ.] It seems to me that you would deliberate
 with better regard to the war and the whole preparation for it, &c.
 τὸν τόπον, the situation of the country. TAYLOR in his preface to
 REISKE, suggests τόπον, but τρόπος is never said *de situ regionis*.
 The word τόπον here is said by REISKE to mean the same as a
 word, τοποθεσία, used by DIOD. SIC. περι τῆς τοποθεσίας τῆς
 Αἰγυπτίου χώρας.

καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἔτησις κ. τ. λ.] And watching the Etesian
 winds and the winter, attacks you when, &c. τοὺς ἔτησις. "Every
 year a regular trade-wind blows from the N.W. eight days before
 the rising of the Dog Star (July 12). These gales were called
 Etesiai. About two days after its rising the same winds, under
 the name of Etesian, blow steadily through the Dog-days, temper-
 ing the heat of summer, but proving a great impediment to a
 westerly voyage." VÖEML. The Athenians would thus be pre-

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vented from going north at this season, and Philip could the more easily sweep down upon them.

Δεῖ τολῦν κ. τ. λ.] You must not, therefore, knowing these things wage war by hurried levies, for we shall be behind-hand in everything; but, &c. Βοήθεια, tumultuary soldiers, collected suddenly for driving off an enemy. REISKE. *Subitarii milites*, ita tunc repentina auxilia appellabant, Liv. 3, 1. Opposed here to “*παροικεῖα*” *κενή συνεχής*, i. e., ἡ διαμένει ἕως ἂν διαλυσώμεθα — ἡ περιγενώμεθα. P. 44. *δύναμις συνεχής*, i. e., ἡ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς ἐκτελεσθήσεται. P. 45.” SAURBE. Ἰσπεριούμεν. The Athenian policy hitherto was to come with assistance when the town was taken, as was the case with Chares and Olynthus.

Ἰπάρχει δ' ὑμῖν κ. τ. λ.] And you must use for winter quarters for the army, Lemnos, &c. All these islands were in the northern part of the Ægean, off the coasts of Macedonia and Thessaly. Ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, Scopelus, Halonesus, Peparethos, and Scyros, for all these were under the sway of Athens at that time. Χειμαδίον, dative, governed by χρῆσθαι, *hiberna*—winter quarters, i. e., τόπος, ἐφ' οὗ ἂν τις δύναιτο χειμῶνος ἐγκαθορμίσασθαι. ΕΤΥΜ. Μ.

Τὴν δ' ὕβαν τοῦ ἔτους. . . . ἔσται.] But at that season of the year when it is easy to approach the land, and no danger from the winds, the soldiers may approach to the very region, and the entrance of the ports. SCHÆFER states that commentators here *nodum in sciencia quævisse*, and adopts the translation of WOLF, as given above. Πρὸς τῇ γῆ γίνεσθαι—to put in to shore, i. e. for military operations. Πρὸς with dat. always having this meaning. Εἰς τὴν γῆν πρὸς with dat. means to be employed on with the notion of activity. BERNHARDY, Gr. p. 263.

Παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν.] In ipso tempore, at the very moment. Cf. comment. LEPT. p. 470. Παρὰ τοὺς μεγίστους καιροὺς. PIND OLY. ii. 6. κεινὰν παρὰ διαίταν. In all these places the force of the preposition implies the very moment in which a thing is done.

Ἄ ἐγὼ γέγραφα.] Which I have proposed, viz. in the ἀπόδειξις which had just been read. Ἰφ' ὑμῶν—The genitive of cause or agent, denoting the agent by or through whom the thing takes place. Latin *a* or *ad* with the ablative. THUC. iv. 64, ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀβήσας τὸν ἀρχιερέα.

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Philip could the *ὑμῶν* denotes all that issues from any one, as commands, commissions, gifts, presents. Latin *ex.* with the ablative.

Ἄν ταῦτα πορίσητε. . . . & λέγω.] If you will first provide this. *They which I mention.* This is the best order of the words for translation.

[Ἐντελῆ.] Complete, full, the whole entire force. Cf. ARISTOPH. *AVIT.* 1867. Also THUC. vi. 45, ἐσκόπουν εἰ ἐντελῆ ἐστίν. Νόμῳ κατακλείσητε ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν.] And compel them by law remain at the war, i. e. to give their whole attention to the war for your sakes, and not to run away pirating on their own account. *Compel by law.* ANDOC. p. 24, ANTIP. p. 19. Ἐγὼ τῶν χρημάτων, αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταί.] Yourselves becoming receivers and treasurers of the money. The arrangement of the finances from this would seem to have been in the hands of the generals. JACOBS. Demosthenes advises the people to assume them, and to allow the general to attend to his own duties. The various impositions upon the general are well given by VEMPEL. *non solum exercitui expeditionique præerat, sed quam plurimum idem rem pecuniariam et quæstuariam, frumentum, stipendium, omnemque victum per quæstores, ministros, servos, et cibis curabat.*

[τῶν λόγων ἀπαιτοῦντες.] DINDORF for ζητοῦντες. Requiring an account from, &c. All persons at Athens who held a public situation were required to give in an account to the λογισταὶ or εἰθνοὶ, board of directors, of the manner in which they discharged their duties; and so strict were they in demanding this, that until the account and vouchers were approved, the officer was not allowed to make a will, to dispose of any property, or receive any public honour or reward. If he failed to send in an account in thirty days after the expiration of his term of service, he was liable to impeachment (ἀλογίου δίκη.) When he had given in his accounts and they were audited, he was generally honourably dismissed (ἀποσημαίνεσθαι).—DEM. *De CORONA*, p. 310. Or an accuser might come forward.—DEM. *c. MEID*, p. 542. The various terms employed were εὐθύνas ἀπαιτεῖν, εὐθύνas διδοῖναι, εὐθύνas ὑπέχειν, εὐθύνas ἀλῆν, the latter also meaning to be convicted of malversation while in the office.

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Καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ποιοῦντες.] *And doing nothing more.*

Ἐκεῖνον] Philip. Ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων. *He fights with*

with resources derived from your allies, &c. Ἄγων καὶ φέρων. *Late*

rupere et trahere.—DEMOSTHENES, p. 1282. Πάντας ἀνθρώπους

καὶ φέροι —ÆN. ii. 374. *Alii rapiunt incensa feruntque Pergamum*

This is the Homeric ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι, of which we have another

form in IL. v. 484. φέροιεν Ἄχαιοι ἢ κεν ἄγοιεν. The Latin equi-

valent of this being ferre et agere, LIV. xxii. 3, postquam res soci-

rum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit. See also LIV. iii. 37.

Τοὺς πλέοντας.] *Mercaturam facientes.*—SAUPPE. *Your marchants*

upon the sea.

Τοῦ πάσχειν ἔξω γενήσασθαι.] *You will be placed beyond*

reach. Cf. the military term ἔξω βελῶν γενέσθαι.—XEN. AN. 2.

Ἄρνον.] *Arnold.*

Ἰὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον.] *In past time. The acc. of time.* JENKINS

548, g. Εἰς Λήμνον καὶ Ἰμβρον ἐμβαλόν. None of the historical

events related here are mentioned by any historian, so that we are

left to conjecture. BRUCHNER, in his Life of Philip, states that

these attacks had been made by Pirates in the service of Philip

(SMEAD.) LUCCHESINI supposes that they took place in OL. 105.

WINIEWSKI in OL. 106.4, quoting the words of ÆSCHINES de Falsis

LEG. p. 37. Φίλιππος δὲ ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Μακεδονίας οὐκέθ' ὑπὲρ Ἀμφικ

λεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἠγωνίζετο, ἀλλ' ἤδη περὶ Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου

τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων. Those again who contend that this part

of the oration was delivered at a subsequent period make these

events to have taken place in OL. 105.1. The preferable date

OL. 106. 2.

Αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέροισι φέροντες ἔχων.] *And he takes away*

with him, your citizens as prisoners of war.—THUC. iii. 70. Ἐπειδὴ

οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι ἦλθεν αὐτοῖς. Ἐχων, here equivalent to *with*. In such

cases where we use *with*, the Greeks used ἔχων, ἄγων, φέρων, λάβων

observing this distinction, that ἔχων and λάβων are used of animate

or inanimate things.—XEN. CYR. i. 3; of animate alone ἄγων; of

inanimate φέρων, Ὁ Κύρος ξίφος φέρων προσήλασε — Ἰππον ἄγων

ἦλθεν — ἰππέας λάβων τοὺς πολεμίους κατεδίωξεν. cf. JELF. 698.

Γεραιστῶ.] A town and promontory in the southern part of

Eubœa, with a celebrated temple of Neptune. It was used as

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et of call by vessels passing between Asia and Attica. The four portories of Eubœa were Geræstus, Caphareus, Artemisium, and Rhœgium. Τὰ πλοῖα, *merchant vessels*. Ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἐξέλεξε. *collected extravagant ransoms*, either from the vessels captured, as ARNOLD suggests, or from the captives, as explained by SAURBE. καὶ κατὰ πράγματα ἀμύθητά μοι παρέχων διετέλεσεν.—DEM. contra PHIL. p. 520.

καὶ τὴν ἑρᾶν. τρήρη] *And went away with the sacred galley.* At the time of Plato mention is made (PHÆD.) of a sacred vessel called the Delian Theoris, used to convey the delegates from Athens to Delos at the quadrennial festival at the island of Delos. There were two such vessels in the age of Demosthenes; several in subsequent times, the number being increased by the abominable flattery of the degenerate Athenians, who called them *Ammonis, Antigonis, Demetrias* and *Ptolematis*, to propitiate the favour of Kings whom they feared to offend. The names of the two of the age of Demosthenes were *Arctulus* and *Salaminia*. They were generally used for carrying ambassadors, public messages, money, and sometimes as the admiral's ship in naval battles. These vessels were also called *Delia* and *Theoris*. ATHENÆUS relates that the *Delia* was the vessel in which Theseus had sent after his return from Crete.—ATH. iv. p. 108. The crew received four obols per day, and were paid all the year, although, as BOECKH states in his *POLITICAL ECONOMY of the Athenians*, they remained nearly all their time at home in idleness, which may account for the seizure of the vessel by Philip's cruisers.

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Ἰμῶν δὲ οὐτε. βοηθεῖν] Δύνασθε in preference to ἡδύνασθε, since the orator not only implies that you did not then prevent, but that you are not even now able. Translate. *And you are never able to prevent these things, nor to send succour, at the times you are promised.* "Eis—*against, by, and hence virtually at; but with reference to a future point of time for which arrangements are now made.*"—ARNOLD.

καίτοι τί δήποτε.] *And yet how pray? Atqui quid tandem?* On the particle, see HOOGE. de PART. GRÆC. p. 283, 7, s. v. καίτοι.

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Παναθηναίων.] This festival was instituted by Erichthonius, and was called originally Athenæa; but when the tribes were collected the name was changed by Theseus to Panathenæa. There were two festivals of the name; the one distinguished by the name *μεγάλα* which was celebrated every fifth year (*πεταετηρίς*) and the other annually, commencing on the 17th and continuing till the 28th of Hecatombæon,—11th to 22d of July. The principal amusements were in chariot racing, horse and foot races, processions, games, &c. including the lampadephorìa, and the procession of the Peplus. Golden crowns were also awarded at the Panathenæa. DEM. DE COR. 265. See DICT. ANT. s. v.

Τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων.] There were four feasts called by this name. I. Διονύσια κατ' ἀγρούς. II. τὰ Λήναια. III. τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια. IV. Διονύσια ἐν ἕσπει. For particulars see DICT. ANT. s. v.

Τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου.] When time is expressed by the genitive is considered as the cause or antecedent condition of the action. *Ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, on this day; ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, during this day; νυκτὸς, at night; νύκτα, during the night.* Hence here, *at the proper time.*

Ἄν τε δεινὸν . . . ἂν τε ἰδιώται.] ἂν τε—ἂν τε, sive—sive. *Δεινὸν, periti, ἰδιώται, imperiti.* Translate: *Whether skilful or unskilful persons may be chosen by lot.*

Καὶ τοσοῦτον ὄχλου . . . ἔχει.] The order of the words is *καὶ ὄχλου τοσοῦτον ἔχει.* And displays such a crowd and so great preparations that I know not if any thing can be compared to it. "Ὀχλος refers to the crowds attending the festival, παρασκευὴν to the costly preparations, dresses, ships," &c.—ARNOLD. Οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν *nescio an.* and compare VIRG. ÆN. ii, 735. *Hic mihi nescio quid trepido male numen,* for a similar use of a Latin idiom. As to the expense, SAURBE mentions that in one year (OL. 92, 3) the Athenians drew over five talents from the treasury to defray the expenses of the Panathenæa alone.

Τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους . . . τῶν καιρῶν.] *That all your expeditions are too late for any use as, &c.* Ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, *est sero venire, cum classis post tempus exiret.*—DISSEN.

Παγασός. "Pagasæ, a Thessalian city taken by Philip during the war with Lycophron, tyrant of Thessaly.—OL. 106, 4. When omitted.

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we may conclude from this passage that the Athenians, at the commencement of Philip's conquests, made some attempts to succour those cities, which were partially occupied by Athenian garrisons; but that they either went no further than the intention, or were so tardy in their operations to be of any service."—JACOBS.

[Χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασιάρχος.] For these words see DICT. ANT. s. v. *φουλῆς*, for each tribe had its own choregus and gymnasiarch appointed.

[Οὐδὲν . . . ἡμέληται.] *Nothing is negligently left unarranged and definite about these.* *Τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, subaudi νόμοις.*—REISKER.

ομο τοῖς est neutrius generis.—SCHÆFER. Observe the alliteration in the words immediately following, ἀτακτα, ἀδιόρθωτα, ποῖστα ἅπαντα. This is common in most languages and very distinguishing characteristic of our Anglo Saxon poetry.

"Who often, but without success, have prayed

For apt alliteration's artful aid."—CHURCHILL.

[Τοιγαροῦν ἅμα τι.] *Wherefore as soon as we hear of anything, or any movement of the enemy. Observe now how artfully the orator arranges his words. We appoint trierarchs. They are satisfied, we make exchanges; as soon as this last is arranged, we look about for a supply of money, and when the money is arranged, the strangers and resident foreigners are called upon to embark; when they themselves should embark, and during all this time, the occasion is lost forever.* *Τριηράρχους.* This was one of the extraordinary liturgies (*ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι*) to which the Athenians were subject, and consisted in equipping and manning a trireme for an entire year; sometimes two or more persons were united for the same purpose. It was considered a disgrace for a man to do more than his duty according to law in the fitting out of a trireme, and many of the wealthy Athenians ruined themselves by voluntary trierarchies, and the expense attending them. After 358 the trierarchy was managed by means of a general property tax, the same as all the other liturgies, by boards called *συμμορία*.

[Ἀντιδόσεις.] An exchange of all property by one Athenian citizen with another. This took place when any Athenian who was voted for an extraordinary liturgy, thought that a more wealthy one had been omitted. He then might challenge this one to undertake the

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liturgy; and if he refused, to submit to an entire change of property. The party challenged could of course object, and, in the case of a hierarchy, the trial was held before the strategi on a fixed day. The matter was fully discussed, and if the challenger made good his cause, the interchange must be made in three days, which might be extended at the will of either party. No concealment of assets was allowed, except shares in the mines at Laurium, which were excepted from all liturgies. If the matter could not be arranged before the strategi, a regular trial (*δίκη*) before the dicæ was held, and from the means of prolonging it, it was rare that a change took place. Of course if the change were effected, the challenger had then to carry on the liturgy from the proceeds of his new property. Months were often, however, consumed before anything could be done towards preparing the liturgy.—See *Dem.* ANT. s. v.

Μετοίκους.] Resident foreigners—of whom there was always an immense number at Athens, and they chiefly resided in the Piræus and managed the mercantile affairs of the city. They could own no real property, and always resided in rented houses. Every alien had to ally himself to some Athenian citizen as his patron (*προστάτης*), who not only defended him in law, but was answerable for his conduct to the State. Each family was subject to an annual tax of twelve drachmæ, and aliens were liable to the liturgies and in other respects were taxed in the same manner as the citizens. They had also to serve in the army, and at times performed certain rites to symbolize their condition, and show their relation to the Athenian citizens. One of these was the Hydriphoria.

Τὸς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας.] The freedmen living apart from their masters.—WOLF. "Sons living in their own houses, and enjoying a separate possession, while their fathers were still alive."—REISE. "Strangers dwelling in the Attic territories."—AUGER. Three explanations have been given, and I have adopted the first. Photius, quoting this passage, says: *οἱ ἀπελεύθεροι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔκουν, χωρὶς τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων*. Again in *DEM. in EUR.* 1161, he speaks of a woman who had been a nurse; *ἀπέιτο γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς ἐλευθέρη, καὶ χωρὶς ἕκει καὶ ἄνδρα ἔσχεν*. From

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his explanation of Photius and the remarks of DEM. as quoted, the reading of WOLF will be seen to be the most correct.

Ἐπ' ἐν ὄσφ ταῦτα μέλλεται.] *And whilst these matters are projected, "ὄσφ in dat. sc. χρόνῳ. Μέλλω, denotes not simple futurity, but hesitation in regard to a future action.*

Οἱ δὲ τῶν εἰρωνείαν.] For εἰρωνείαν many manuscripts give δουλίαν. *For the exigencies of your affairs cannot keep pace with your delay and evasion.* DOBREE quotes two very apposite passages. THUC. i. 142. Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί, and LIVY, lxi. 48. Non expectare belli tempora moras et dilationes imperatorum.

Τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον.] *The intervening time, i. e. while you are collecting a larger force.*—ARNOLD. VÖGEL translates the whole passage thus: "But in the intervening time, the forces, which we think we have, are found to be of no avail when the necessity for them arises. Ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν καιρῶν. *In the very crisis of the emergency.* "By the 'resources' on which they had reckoned, but which had fallen short of their anticipations, I would understand the ways and means which they had voted in their first eagerness, without deducting anything on account of the manifold difficulties and deficiencies which were sure to arise."—JACOBS.

Ὅ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ἐπιστολάς.] *And he has arrived at so great a degree of insolence, as to send such letters already to the Eubœans.* From these remarks, we may gather that the letters in question were not very complimentary to Athens. JACOBS regrets that the letters were lost, since they might have thrown some light on the history of the oration. See JACOBS'S note in ARNOLD.

Τούτων ὧς οὐκ ἔδει.] *The greater part of these writings are unfortunately true.* Ὡς οὐκ ἔδει are used parenthetically, and have been here translated *unfortunately*.

Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ'.] On these particles see JELF. 774, 6. Οὐ μὴν, *yet, nevertheless, verumtamen, ἀλλὰ in sooth, surely, vere.* Οὐ μὴν denies something gone before, ἀλλὰ opposes the true word to be applied. Here, the meaning is *yet if not true, still, &c.* Cf. DEM. de FALS. MAG. Οὐ μὴν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ φιλίας ἀρχὴ συμφορούσης. Cf. also EPIS. MIL. DEM. p. 161. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἰ δεῖ πάντα τᾶλλα παραλιπόντα πρότως εἰπεῖν.

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'Αλλ' εἰ μὲν, ὑπερβήσεται.] *But if any one, by passing on whatever would give offence in his speech, could also do away with the facts, then should he always harangue them for their pleasure.*

*Αν ἢ μὴ προσήκουσα.] *If it be at an unseasonable time.* "Ἐρσημία γίγνεται. *In very truth becomes hurtful.*

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Φενακίζειν.] From φέναξ, a cheat, impostor. The word is used in OL. ii. p. 20; and again in PHIL. ii. p. 73, in the same meaning as here, cheating or deceiving, or deluding.

Καὶ μὴδὲ τοῦτο. πραγμάτων.] *And not even able to understand this, that it is the duty of those who rightly manage a war, not to follow the course of events but anticipate them, i. e. not to waste their time in unavailing efforts to gain a petty advantage, but to arrange their affairs in such a manner as to be ready for every contingency.* "Cf. LIV. ix. 18, At hercle reges, non libenter solum impedimentis omnibus, sed domini rerum temporumque trahunt consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur."—ARNOLD. "Ἐμπροσθεν εἶναι = *anticipare, to anticipate.*—XEN. AN. v. 6. Πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπίσθεν ἐπομένων.

Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥσπερ. ἄν.] = *Perinde ac si, just as if* For ὥσπερ WOLF conjectures ὑπερ, which occurs in DE REV. CHIEF p. 94. Τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑπερ ἐπ' Ὀρέδν πρώην. But ὥσπερ occurs in the same formula in OL. i. p. 13, and in the present oration, p.

Καὶ μὴ τὰ. διώκειν.] *And not be compelled to follow what happens.* Τὰ συμβάντα = *casus eventusque rerum.* CIC. pro BALB. 4, 9. It is also further explained by the words considered above. Καὶ μὴδὲ τοῦτο. πραγμάτων. Cf. HER. vii. 49, Μάθε δὲ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔρχουσι, καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωποι τῶν συμφορῶν. FRANKÉ. Demosthenes must have had Philip in his mind when he spoke these words, for many years afterwards in his DE CORONA, 305, he said: Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου σκέψασθε πῶς. πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἅπαντων.

Πλείστην δύναμιν.] For the number of vessels which Athens could provide, see DEM. de SYM. p. 186. In fact a perusal of the whole oration will supply ample proof of the πλείστην δύναμιν spoken of.

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οὐδενὸς δ' ἀπολείπεσθε.] *And you lack for nothing.* In the great variety of interpretations proposed for this passage, I cannot be expected to stumble upon a more correct translation than other commentators have advised. But considering that in every passage in which the verb ἀπολείπω occurs, as given by L. & S., the general meaning of *wanting* or *absence* is given or implied; I cannot think that this alone is an exception. The orator had stated that the most abundant means were at their command; that they had done nothing, and made no advantageous use of them, and he now still farther reminds them that they lack nothing, and therefore the inexcusable. But I may state the various interpretations, so that if any seems better than my own, it may be selected. REISKE states he does not understand this passage; what is understood? WOLF seems to have understood πολεμῶν. *Nullum non hostem assecuti, ubicunque videtis concurrere, illuc accurritis.* But REISKE does not agree with WOLF, and says: *Nusquam non sero venitis, opportunitatibus bene rerum gerendarum dudum præterlapsis.* AUGER has the usual way of getting out of a difficulty and changes δ' into οὐκ, *illam rem non serius facitis.* SCHEFER calls this foolish, and says οὐδενὸς is neuter gender. And he finds fault with RÜDIGER'S translation, *Nihil non assequuti estis.* Rather, says he, *nihil enim non assectamini, sive affectatis.* Then again WHISTON says, *and yet there is nothing in which you do not interfere,* and his marginal note is given to prove this correct. Finally, DINDORF alters the reading and connects the words with what follows, translating *Then you war in every way with Philip just as barbarians do.* [ὡσεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι.] A nation trained to gymnastic exercises in the way the Greeks were, would doubtless laugh at barbarians when they undertook to do what it requires skill and practice to perform. See the very beautiful note of ARNOLD. [τῆς πληγῆς ἔχειται.] With the genitive this verb has the meaning of *to stick to.* Cf. THUC. i. 140. *Τῆς γνώμης ἔχομαι. Τοῦ νόμου σβαί.* EUR. OR. 504. [ἐκείσε εἰσιν αἱ χεῖρες.] *There are his hands.* A spirited description, and one well worthy of our orator. His meaning in all this is that the Athenians, instead of manfully contesting every inch of ground with Philip, were only able to follow him as it were,

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and as, one by one, he wrested their possessions from them, they bemoaned their sad lot, but made no attempt to resist him. Προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον, but to be on his guard or to stand before his opponent in the face. "Προβάλλεσθαι = προτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς μάχην. HARPOCRAT. s. v. To guard or ward off with the hands." SMEAD. Cf. HOM. IL. v. 879. ταύτην δ' οὐτ' ἐπεὶ προτιβάλλεαι ὀπίσθε τι ἔργω. XEN. CYR. ii. 3, 10. Ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἠγάπησεν πρὸ τούτων ἕτι οἰομένη πληγῆσεσθαι. — WHISTON.

Χερρόνησος.] Usually distinguished as *Thracian*, a narrow strip of land 420 stadii long, between the Hellespont and the Gulf of Melas, and connected by a narrow isthmus at Cardia with the mainland. It was colonised by the Athenians under Miltiades the younger, temporary of Peisistratus. Some of the principal towns were Elæus, Madytus, Sestus, Crithote, and lastly, Pactya and Cardia. The little stream, Ægos Potamos, was also in this Chersonese.

Συμπαράθειτε ἄνω κάτω.] *You run up and down along sides of him.* His march was so rapid that all the Athenians could do nothing to keep up with him, never thinking to prevent him. Observe ἀσυνδέτον in the adverbs, to denote rapid motion. Στρατηγὸν δὲ ἐκείνου.] *You are led by him.* "Odioso verbo utitur, quod Athenienses Philippi mercenarii duces et mancipia essent; quod et turpe est et perniciosum." — WOLF. This was a most bitter sarcasm on the Athenians. Philip, by thus leading them about, became, as it were, their general in a war against themselves.

Πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων.] *Nor do you look beforehand in any of your affairs.* Various readings and interpretations have been given in this passage. It is evident there is a tautology, and designed so, in πρὸ προορᾶτε. These words may be translated *beforehand*. Περὶ τῶν χρημάτων is the reading of some manuscripts, which WOLF remarks, "Cum pecuniæ sint nervi belli, non in eo modo est hæc lectio."

Πρὶν ἂν ἤ πύθησθε.] *Priusquam . . . audiveritis.* ARNDT. *Before you have become aware either that some calamity has already befallen you, or is now about to happen.* Absurdum est negligere rem, quæ tua interest antequam fiat: absurdissimum, antequam facta sit. SCHÆFER.

Νῦν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν ἐγχωρεῖ.] *Now we have come to such*

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is, that this is no longer possible. Cf. OL. i. p. 10. Οὐδὲ γὰρ
 γος οὐδὲ σκῆψις ἔθ' ὑμῖν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν ὑπολεί-
 ναι. "Ἡκεῖ is used impersonally like *ventium est*, and πράγματα is
 understood as BARKER suggests. "Ἀκμή — *Critical point*;
is, discrimen." ARNOLD.

[φιλοπραγμοσύνην.] This is the first time Demosthenes used this
 term concerning Philip, which he again repeats in OL. i. p. 13
 disposition, restlessness. Cf. PLATO REP. 549. Cf. the language
 employed here about Philip with the words of Isocrates as quoted
 under PHIL. iii. p. 124.

[ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται.] *Holding what he has already subdued
 and seized.*

[Ἀποχρὴν ἐνίοις ὑμῖν δημοσίᾳ.] *I verily believe that some of you
 could be satisfied with that, from which we, as a State, would have
 incurred shame, cowardice, and every imputation of folly.* SMEAD

marks that, "these however, were the very terms upon which
 peace was afterwards concluded in 346, and which the orator him-
 self allowed it prudent to accept." Still this was no fault of his
 if his advice had been followed now, perhaps in 346 he might have
 been able to demand better conditions. Ὀφληκότες. Ὀφλισκάνω
 used almost always in a technical sense. Δίκην ὄφλ. *To be cast
 in a suit, lose one's cause.* But HER. viii. 26. Δειλίην ὄφλει πρὸς
 βασιλῆος. *He drew upon himself the reproach of cowardice from
 the King.*

[Καὶ τοῦ πλεονος ὀρεγόμενος.] *And ever grasping for more.*
 There is a fine field here for a philologist to trace this root ὀρ
 through its various languages. In Greek there are ὄρος, a moun-
 tain; ὄρος, serum, whey; ὄρνυμι; ὄρνυξ, a quail; ὄργῃ, anger; ὄργια,
 secret rites; ὄργια, all having the general meaning of rising or
 extending. In Latin, orior, ordior, porrigo, with the same mean-
 ings. German, reichen, rechen. English, reach.

[ἴσως ἂν ἐγκαλέσαιθ' ὑμᾶς. . . . ἀπεγνώκατε.] *And perhaps he
 may provoke you, unless you have given up altogether.* A bitter
 sneer at the laziness and inactivity of the Athenians. Cf. ÆSCH.
 iii. Τὴν ὑμετέραν ὄργην ἐγκαλέσασθαι. FRANKK.

[Περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι Φίλιππον.] *For the purpose of inflicting
 punishment upon Philip.* This intention would of course be adopted

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and the year as given by ARNOLD was OL. 105, 3. *Μὴ παθεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου.* *That we may escape punishment from Philip.*

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Εἴτα τοῦτ' ἀναμενοῦμεν.] *Shall we then wait for this, and if I send empty triremes, and hopes from this and that one, do you think that all will be well?* *Εἴτα* is used in asking questions to denote the impatience and indignation of the speakers. Cf. PLATO. *APOL.*

28. *Εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνει, ὦ Σώκράτης.*

Κενὰς τριήρεις.] I can hardly think that BARKER is right in his explanation of these words. He says that these vessels were sent out empty to get their mercenaries from foreign parts, and is general alone with the vessels. But he refers to OL. iii. 3. *Δέκα ναῦς ἀπεστείλατε ἔχοντα κενὰς Χαλθῆμον*, as proof of his view which appears to have quite the contrary meaning; for the Athenians had voted an armament much larger, and this was all that could get when the time came. The expression in my opinion *empty, vain, useless ships*, which from their very number were insignificant for such a war. On the *πεύθεισ τε καὶ ἐρωτήσεις* which follow in such rapid order, see LONG. *De SUBL.* sect. 18, with his remarks upon them.

Οὐκ ἔξιμεν. . . . νῦν.] *Shall we not go forth with at least a part of our own soldiers?* *ἤρετό τις.*] *Some one asks.* Demosthenes fingit aliquem sic interrogasse, sive in ἴρῃα contentione, sive autem in familiari de eadem re sermone. *Ποῖ*, denotes motion towards a place, and where used with *ἄν* requires the optative; without it the subjunctive. *Ποῖ τις ἔλθῃ* is correct. *Ποῖ τις ἄν ἔλθῃ* is solecistic. In SOPH. ANT. 42, *Ποῦ γνώμης ποτ' εἶ;* *ποῦ* here is equivalent to *ποῖ*. Compare *ubi gentium*, CIC. in CAT. i.

Ἐδρῆσει τὰ σαθρά. . . . ὁ πόλεμος.] *The war itself will find the weak points.* Cf. TAC. HIST. ii. 77. *Aperiet et recludet contecta et tumescentia victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum.* τὰ σαθρά, ἀσθενῆ, κεκλασμένα. HESYCH.

Λοιδωρουμένων ἀκούοντες. . . . τῶν λεγόντων.] *Hearing our orators upbraiding and finding fault with each other.* This seems to have been a favourite amusement of the Attic orators, and for a very good specimen of the Athenian Billingsgate see DEM. *de Cor.* p. 269.

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[Page 11.]

Οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν ἡμῖν οὐ μὴ γένηται τῶν δεόντων.] *Never at any time shall we get any necessary thing done.* Here we have no less than four negatives to one expression, which makes a most vehement assertion. On the construction of οὐ μὴ see JELF. 748 Cf. MARK, xiv. 25. Οὐκετι οὐ μὴ πῶς ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου. Also LUKE xxii. 16, ACTS xviii. 14.

Καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενές. . . . συναγωνίζεται.] *There the favour of the gods, and Fortune fights with us.* Εὐμενές. Neut. sing. of adjective used for an abstract noun. Cf. THUC. i. 68. Τὸ πιστὸν τῆς ἀληθείας. HER. viii. 100. Τὸ πολλὸν τῆς στρατιῆς.

Ψήφισμα κενόν—Τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπιδας.] These words refer doubtless to many an armament of the Athenians. They were decidedly a nation of talkers at this time, and endeavoured to frighten the enemy by a mere decree for raising troops, and a insignificant number to be called out. The orators fostered this illusion, and as Demosthenes says the enemy laughed at them, and the allies trembled for fear of both friend and foe.

Τεθνᾶσι τῷ δέει τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀποστόλους.] Many explanations of this accusative have been given. REISKE supplies διὰ, which of course makes it easy enough. WOLF connects it with καταγελωσι, and changes the acc. into the genitive; but the intervening words would then be strangely out of place. SCHÆFER would make it governed by ὀρώντες. But all these ways are liable to objection. As to changing readings, that should in no case be done unless upon the best authority, which in this case is altogether in favour of the present reading. A simple verbal notion, as JELF. 360 says, is sometimes expressed by a verb and substantive, and the substantive generally contains the required verbal notion. He alludes to the following passages: CÆD. COL. 221. δέος ἴσχετε μηδὲν ὄσ' αὐδᾶ. SCH. AGAM. 815. Ψήφους ἔθεντο φθοράς. He gives also a similar Latin construction from PLAUT. MENÆCH. v. 7, 27. Quid me vobis metio est. To the examples given add DEM. de FALS. LEG. 366. θανάσι τῷ φόβῳ Θηβαίων καὶ τοὺς Φιλίππου ξένους, and then the general meaning will be, *aliquid sic metuere, ut præ metu exanimantur*. The accusative here then depends upon the verbal notion in θανάσι τῷ δέει, and the whole is translated: *Cur allies die from*

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very dread of such reinforcements, or to give a still stronger term, are as afraid as death of such reinforcements.

"Ἐνα ἄνδρα.] The general, for in almost all these expeditions was the only man who was an Athenian, and Demosthenes had a very exalted opinion of the mercenaries, although he scarcely told them so, still he hints his opinion pretty freely a few lines below.

"Ἵσχυρίζεσθαι μέντοι . . . ἔστιν.] But it is possible to promise and to talk glibly, and to blame such an one and such another. Ἵσχυρίζεσθαι is much stronger than δὲ, being equal to *but I am sure*. Ἵσχυρίζεσθαι. Generals even in the present time are given to this and if history be impartial, the events of the late years will fit some who deserve to be handed down to posterity as well as Chares. The *Al Χάρητος ὑποσχέσεις* being a proverb as we learn from SAUPPE *ad* ZENOB. ii. 13.

"Ἡγήται . . . ἀθλίων ἀπομισθων ξένων.] The general leads miserable mercenaries without pay. Ἀπομισθοί is elsewhere used in the sense of *emeriti, paid off*. DEM. p. 671. Ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἀπομισθὸς γίγνεται παρὰ τοῦ Τιμοθέου; and in the present meaning by Xen. HELL. vi. 2. REISKE would read ἡττηῆται, on the authority of some half dozen manuscripts, and he gives as explanation: "The general is said ἡττηῆσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, who is in the power of the soldiers, who cannot deny anything to them, who can do nothing with them, since he must endure their slights, connive at all their crimes and misdeeds, because he has neither money to pay them, nor hire others." But SCHÆFER says, "I would approve of Reiske's interpretation, if another epithet were applied to the soldiers, such as ἀκολάστον, ὑβρίζοντων. But this inclines me to use ἡγήται."

Οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν . . . ὧσιν.] And your orators here will lie to you without any difficulty, about whatever he may do elsewhere. It was the usual custom to have an orator in the pay of a general to praise him and support his actions. Ὅτι ἂν τύχητε. Vote at random on whatever you hear.

Τί καὶ χρὴ προσδοκᾶν;] What, then, can you expect? *Quid quaeso, expectandum est?* WOLF. I cannot illustrate this passage better than by quoting the following from JELF. 760, 2. *Quid τί χρὴ λέγειν* interrogat is, *quid dici, non, an aliquid dici debeat*

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xxviii. 3, 4.]
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querit; sed qui τὴν καὶ χρῆ λέγειν, is non solum quid, sed etiam in aliquid dicendum sit, dubitat (plene: quid dicendum est, si minime aliquid dicendum est?) HENK. ad VIQ. 837. In EUB. ΠΑΡ. 1873, PONSON remarks on πῶς καὶ; Copula solet, interrogativis, τίς, πῶς, ποῖ, ποῦ, ποῖος, postpositi.

[Μάρτυρας] At p. 47 he calls them ἐπόπτας. See note. ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΙ. As mentioned in a previous note, all public officers had to submit to an examination of their accounts and conduct on retirement from office. Of course all could not be dicasts—since there was a regular court, as before explained, but it might come before them.

Νῦν δ' εἰς τοῦθ' αἰσχύνης.] But now your affairs have become involved in such disgrace τῶν στρατηγῶν. They did not punish their enemies in war, but exerted their best energies to condemn their generals in peace, since impeachment and trial for life awaited every unsuccessful general. SATYRE mentions the following generals as having been several times accused: CHARES, ANTOCLEUS, EPHISODOTUS, LEOSTHENES, CALLISTHENES. In addition to these see the trials of Iphicrates and Timotheus, in GROTE, ch. lxxvi. and in subsequent period of Phocion, ch. xcvi.

Ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν προσήκοντος.] Instead of falling fighting bravely at the head of their armies, (τοῦ προσήκοντος) they return home to end their life in ignominy, like kidnappers and cutpurses, as he himself subsequently explains it. "From XEN. Mem. i. 2. 62, we learn what the punishment of such persons was: τοῦτοις θάνατος ἐστὶν ἢ ζημία."—FRANKE.

[Κακούργου] Gen. after ἐστίν. For the person or thing to which some quality belongs, or is essential to, is put in the genitive after εἶναι. See SOPH. EL. 1054, Πολλῆς ἀγνοίας (ἐστίν). HER. i. 107. ἄπορος ἡσυχίου ἐστίν. In Latin the construction is the same. LIV. lxxviii. 3, 4. Dolopes Æthiolorum nunquam fuerant: Philippi erant.

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[τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσις] The Thebans were envied and hated by the Athenians for their aggressions in Eubœa, and by the Lacedæmonians, who could never forget Leuctra and Megalopolis. Any attack upon Thebes then by Philip would not be regarded with

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alarm by the Spartans, who were not violently opposed to him nor by the Athenians, as it promised them a little delay.

Τὰς πολιτείας διασπᾶν.] *The dissolution of the republics.* WOODWARD explains this by establishing oligarchies, or tyrannies, in their stead. Nam idæc fuit Græcorum ratio: reges urbes gubernari à singulis: oligarchici, ut Lacedæmonii à paucis: democratici, ut Athenienses multis, hoc est, à plebe, voluerunt. Hoc est illud quod THUC. II. Τὸς Λακεδαιμονίους βούλεσθαι τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπιτηδεύειν σφίσι αὐτοῖς πολιτεύεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ὀλιγαρχεῖσθαι.

Ὡς βασιλέα.] *To the King.* Ὡς for εἰς, an Atticism of frequent occurrence. PORSÓN, ad EUR. PHŒN. 1415, lays it down as a rule that ὡς can be used for εἰς only before persons, and gives as the earliest example of its use, HOM. OD. xvii. 218, ὡς ἀεὶ τὸν ὄμιλον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὄμοιον. Some of the German commentators have attempted to disprove this, but without avail.

Ἐν Ἰαλλυριοῖς.] Illyria was conquered by Philip in B. C. 356, on his defeat of Bardylis near lake Bermius, and soon after, the King tendered submission, which was accepted on condition of giving up all eastward of Lake Lychnitis.

Λόγους πλάττοντες.] *Fabricating stories.* Cf. SOPH. AJAX. II. Λόγους ψιθύρους πλάττων. Ἐκαστος joined with a plural verb. This is called the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος. The whole is put in the nominative, and the distributive is put in apposition with several parts. Cf. OD. i. 424. Δὴ τότε κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἴκῳ ἕκαστος. AOTS II. 6. Ἦκουον ἕκαστος εἰς, τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ. Similarly, Quisque in Latin. ÆN. vi. 743. Quisque suos patit Manes. TAC. HIST. II. 44. Suum quisque flagitium aliis rejectantes.

Μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει.] *Intoxicated with the greatness of his notions.* THOM. MAGISTER remarks that μεθύειν is used in various meanings besides that of being made so by wine. And of these we now adduce a few examples. Τῆς ἐλευθερίας μεθύειν. THUC. II. 562. D. Ἐρωτι μεθύειν. ANACR. 17. Ebrius jam sanguine citius et tanto magis eum sitiens. PLIN. Quidlibet impotens spernit fortunaque dulci ebria. HOR. xxvii. Bk. 1.

At which my soul aches to think,
Intoxicated with eternity.—BYRON.

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Οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δαΐ ἑκείνος.] *Nor indeed, in very truth, does he so choose to act, that the silliest among us may know what he is about to do.* The words after these are expunged by the index of Lambinus. REISKE. The general idea is that Philip would not like to have his subsequent actions thus talked about by these silly babblers. Οὐ μέντοι γε.] These words are used here in an ironical sense to signify that although what has gone before may be true, still, nevertheless, &c., Γέ belongs to the preceding word. *Non tamen certe* (HEEM. ad VIGER, 842).

Ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶμεν.] *We are fully satisfied of this.* Ἐκεῖνο refers not usually to what follows, as here, whereas ταῦτ' refers to what has gone before.

Ἄποστερεῖ.] Here construed with two accusatives, as it is also p. 839, Τὴν τιμὴν ἀποστερεῖ με, whilst on p. 845 it is joined with the accusative of the person and genitive of the thing. Ἐμὲ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀποστέρηκε. The allusion is doubtless to the loss of the Athenian commerce through Philip's war vessels, and the consequent plundering of the allies by him, and the capture of the best towns of Macedonia. Πολὺν χρόνον. During his whole reign far.

Καὶ ἅπανθ' ἡμῖν ἐστί.] *And that all things, which we once thought any one would do for us, have been found against us, and the future is in our own hands, &c.* I see no reason for making this sentence refer to Philip more than anybody else. It seems to be a general expression of dissatisfaction at the continuous ill-successes of Athens. Nor do I think that ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ is nominative to ὁρηται, as AUGER advises, but rather ἅπανθ. "I know not if this refers to Philip, or some Persian general or satrap; but many things occur in Greek and Latin writers, where it is better to agree with the words of the orator himself, rather than to follow up useless conjectures." WOLF. It refers to all the parties who had in any way acted as Demosthenes here complains of. Τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐστί. Let us not trust these fellows again, but act like men, and all will be well. If not, we must fight at home, if we are too negligent to do so abroad.

Τὰ δέοντ' ἀπηλλαγμένοι.] *We shall know what ought to*

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be done, and cease our useless discussions. "Αττα used for ἄττα. The form ἐσόμεθα ἐγνωκότες is a poetical form to give emphasis to a simple future. See JELF. 375, 4.

Ἐγὼ μὲν.] "Tacite opponit alios oratores." VÖEML. Μὲν closes the usual close of a course of argument. Μὲν gives emphasis and οὖν refers to the general course of the argument. EUR. PHOEN. 448. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν ὑμνηθὲν, ἀλλ' ἕμωσ ἔρῳ.

Πρὸς χάριν εἰλόμην λέγειν.] Did I choose to speak to win your favour. "Οτι μὴ, nisi si quod. HERM. VIGER, 849. Οὐδὲν ὑπερστειλάμενος.] With no dissimulation. Cf. OL. i. 14.

Ἐβουλόμην δ' ἄν.] And I would wish, that as I know that it is advantageous to you to hear what is best, so I might know that it would profit me speaking for the best.

Νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἀδήλοισ γνησομένοις.] But now the event of these things, so far as I am concerned, being unknown. The force of ἐπὶ here is not quite evident, but by a comparison of other passages, we find it to mean, a defining the notion of coincident time, and farther to denote that it is after the events narrated. HERM. VIGER, viii. 65. Ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις ἐλθεῖν. To come after the things were done.

Ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν αἰρούμαι.] The order is ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεισέναι ταῦτα συνοίσειν ὑμῖν ἂν πράξητε, αἰρούμαι λέγειν. Being persuaded that these things will benefit you if you do them, I made up my mind to lay them before you. Nunc quanquam incertum est quidnam hinc consecutus sim, tamen quid persuasum habeo hæc vobis factura utilia fore, hæc loqui aggressus sum. This is Auger's paraphrase of the last sentence, and brings out the meaning of the orator in a fair manner.

Νικήη συνοίσειν.] May that proposition which shall confer the most lasting happiness upon you, prevail. "Quæ victoria omnibus præposita est, facile in concordiam rediretur, et capitalis inimicitiae in summam benevolentiam et mutuum amorem converterentur." WOLF. Cf. the conclusion of OL. iii. and Pro MEGAL. p. 210.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

SECOND PHILIPPIC.

This oration was delivered in B.C. 344-3, OL. 109.1, in the Archonship of Lyciscus DIONYSIUS, p. 737. ἀγκίσκος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἑβδόμην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν ἐβέβητο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας, ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος "Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίνονται." The occasion, as we learn from the introduction of Libanius, was one of some difficulty to the Athenians. Embassies had arrived in Athens, but whence they came for what purpose, does not appear from the oration; still, it can be collected from the history of Philip. About this time, Philip sent ambassadors to the Athenians to complain that they had falsely accused him among the Greeks of having made certain promises, and afterwards having proved false to them, whereas, he says, he never made any promises, and therefore could not have been false; and he asks them for their proofs. Along with these ambassadors, others came from the Argives and Messenians to complain of the Athenians giving their support to the Lacedæmonians, who were attempting to enslave the Peloponnesian cities. The Athenians were at a loss what answer to make to each. They were in alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and

looked with distrust upon the union of sentiment between the Argives and Messenians, and Philip. They therefore preferred a union with the former to a seeming community of interest with any of the adherents of the king. Then again, Philip was correct in his statement regarding the promises, for neither in any of his letters to the Athenians, nor in the communications through his ambassadors, was any promise given. The promises had been held out by some Athenians, that if peace were attained, he would protect the Phocians and reduce the insolence of the Thebans. This is the statement of Libanius, and seems sufficiently accurate to meet all the circumstances of the case.

The peace obtained by Philip in 346 was one of the grand turning points in his career. It effectually opened up to him the affairs of the whole Grecian world, and wherever any discontent prevailed his emissaries were sure to foment the disturbance. He appears, as GROTIUS remarks in his xc. chapter, as "the great aggressor of the age." But, in general, his policy was not to resort to open war, but by wiles and stratagems of diplomacy to effect what war could not. In every city where gold could find an entrance there was a philippizing party, and it generally included some of the most eminent men of the state. In Athens, more particularly, was this the case; and here the great traitor was Æschines, supported by Phrynon and Philocrates. They watched the interests of the king, and fomented any disturbance likely to advance his ascendancy in Greece. The Athenians saw in less than one week after the signing of the peace, that Philip was no friend of theirs, and the representations which had gained that peace produced dis-

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trust and resentment against him who had so deceived them. Instead of gaining security and alliance with their powerful neighbour, they saw themselves completely surrounded by his armies, and their enemies rendered more insolent by their disgrace. For not only were they deprived of their right of presiding at the Pythian games and that honour conferred upon Philip, and, in his absence, upon some of his *slaves*, but the right of *προμαντεία*, or first consulting the oracle at Delphi, was also taken away from them and bestowed upon him—PHIL. iii. p. 119; and a direct thrust was given them, when, in spite of their efforts to save, Philip completely abolished, the autonomy of the Phocian cities.

In this oration, then, one of the objects of Demosthenes is to arouse the anger of the citizens against those men who had so deceived them. And in order the better to induce them to adopt his ideas, he reviews the actions of Philip since he obtained the peace, and then launches out against the perfidious ambassadors the full torrent of his anger at their duplicity and deception. The answers to the ambassadors are not given, nor can we conjecture what was their nature.

Respecting the embassies which were at Athens when this oration was delivered, a few remarks are necessary. We have already stated the opinion of Libanius, and with this Winiewski agrees. He further states that one of the Macedonian envoys was the orator Python mentioned in DE HALONESO, p. 81; and further refers to this occasion the statement in DE COR. p. 272.

Οτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε, τὸν Βυζάντιον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὡς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικούσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ

Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῶ ῥέοντι καθ' ἑμῶν, οὐκ εἰς οὐδ' ἵπεχώρησα. From the words employed, the statement may be correct; but we have no means of proving it. The opinion of Dionysius is also given at the commencement of this introduction. The whole tenor of the discourse would hardly seem to warrant the idea of the presence of Macedonian envoys at its delivery. The tone is harsh towards the king, and his aggressions are mentioned in no very complimentary terms. It would hardly be considered in keeping with the character of Demosthenes to suppose that he would hold such language about a king with whom the Athenians were at peace, and in the presence of his envoys, who came according to the received account, to demand explanations for such language when delivered in Peloponnesus.

The presence of Argive and Messenian embassies is quite evident as the whole of the first part of the oration plainly indicates. Sparta had been endeavouring ever since the founding of Megalopolis to recover for herself the territory at that time wrested from her; and as Thebes was the enemy whom she had most to fear, she made an attack upon Megalopolis at the time when the power of Onomarchus was greatest, B.C. 352. In this attempt she was unsuccessful, but again in 346 she renewed her aggression. This time, however, she attacked Messene. The Arcadians and Argives at once assumed the quarrel, and marched to the assistance of Messene. By this aid, the Spartans were defeated. But Messene was still afraid, and an embassy was sent to Philip asking aid. He readily promised it, and sent them troops and money, and also intimated to the Spartans that they must resign all claims upon Messene.

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PHIL. ii. p. 69. Athens, warned by the fate of Phocis, was fully aroused, and Demosthenes and others were sent to counteract the designs of Philip.—DE COR. p. 52. The embassy was not successful; but enough had been said by Demosthenes to induce the Peloponnesians to look with less favour upon Philip. The Argives and Messenians sent a counter embassy to Athens to endeavour to detach her from the alliance with Peloponnesus, and it is in their presence that Demosthenes speaks.

We have already mentioned that one of the objects of Demosthenes in this oration, was to hold up to popular indignation the perfidious ambassadors, by whom so glorious a peace had been concluded. There is a further train of thought which can be traced through it. Demosthenes, by dwelling upon the aggressions of Philip, carefully preparing the minds of his hearers to break the peace with him. And yet he does not directly propose it; he tells them, at the very outset, that nothing is done but speech-making, and his insinuations naturally point to something more than words. Still, recollecting the fate of others who had proposed unpopular, yet salutary measures, he will not move to declare war. The whole object of the oration then, is to supply an answer to the Messenians and Argives; to induce the people to declare war against Philip, and to administer to the traitorous ambassadors a well-merited castigation, and insinuate at the same time, that they ought to be brought to trial.

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Περὶ ὧν εἰρήνην.] *Respecting Philip's actions, and in-
fringements of the peace.* Βιδζεται, sc. πράττειν. Βιδζεσθαι some-
times governs the acc. of a neuter pronoun, as in SOPH. ANT. 66.
Βιδζομαι τάδε. *Since I am forced to this, but in the present in-
stance it has not this force.* Παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην. The peace signed
at Phœræ opposite the temple of the Dioscuri in 346, between the
Athenians and Philip.

Δικαίους καὶ φιλανθρώπους.] *Just and generous.* "The orators
in their speeches professed the most unbounded respect for the
common rights of Greece, which are thus considered as applying
to the whole human race. The distinction between Greek and
barbarian precluded the rest of mankind from a just share in this
philanthropy, and hence it is that the *love of their countrymen*
is called by the most extensive term, *love of mankind.*" LELAND.
Λέγειν τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας] *Appear to say what is proper =*
τὸ δέον λέγειν.

Τργόμενον δ' ἄξιον.] *But nothing that is requisite, so to
speak, is done; nor for which it were worth while to hear them.* The
meaning of this whole passage from the beginning is obviously as
follows: The Athenians listened with approbation to the speeches
made against Philip, and at the same time, being at peace with
him, were most desirous of remaining so. But Demosthenes in
his oration, and also in the THIRD PHILIPPIC, and the *De RES.*
REBUS seems to have in view the idea of collecting enough evi-
dence to induce them to declare war. Hence his remark that

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nothing had been done that is requisite; which from the general tenor of his speech we are inclined to interpret: *No one has formally moved for war.* Ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν = Ὡς φάσεται, ὡς ἐνὶ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ὡς τύπῳ περιλαβεῖν. SUIDAS.

Εἰς τοῦτ' πράγματα.] Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Τὰ δὲ πρόγματα εἰς τοῦτο προήκοντα.

Ἐξελέγχε παραβαλόντα.] *May convict Philip of transgressing the peace towards you.* This could easily be done by a consideration of his treatment of the Phocians after the signing of the peace at Pheræ, and his continual interference in the affairs of Thrace. True, these were not included among the allies of Athens, but enough had been done to show that virtually they were so.

Καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἐπιβουλεύοντα.] *And plotting against all the Greeks.* The inhabitants of Megalopolis, Messene, and Argos, were soliciting his active coöperation against Sparta, and he sent word that Sparta must renounce all claims to Messene. DE PACE, p. 61. He sent troops to the aid of the oligarchical faction at Elis, and captured Pandosia, Bucheta, and Eluteia, near the Gulf of Ambracia. He deposed Arrhybas, king of the Epirotic Molossians, and attacked Ambracia and Leucas. DEK FALS. LEC. p. 424. His troops were at Megara and Eretria. He subdivided Thessaly, again overran the Illyrians, Dardanians, and Pæonians, defeated the Thracian king, Cersobleptes, and fully established his influence in the Hellespontine affairs. GROTE, CHAP. XC.

Πάντας τοὺς οὐχὶ λόγοις.] *All who seek their own aggrandizement ought to be hindered by action and deeds, not by words.* Πάντας is the better reading which is then the accusative before κωλύειν. ARNOLD reads πάντες which then stands without a verb. Οὐχὶ. A negative proper; the agreement of the subject and predicate being denied. The form is much stronger than the simple οὐ. Cf. OL. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ ταῦτα παρίσταται μοι κ. τ. λ.

Ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες.] Sc. ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα. WOLF. Ἀφέσταμεν, by syncope for ἀφεστήκαμεν. Τούτων refers to ἔργα καὶ πράξεις. Translate: *We the orators refrain from these things, fearing, &c.* The extreme aptitude of the Athenians to impeach any one for

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proposing unpopular measures is quite evident from the general history of the people. And even popular measures could not at all times escape the officious interference of some legal Athenian. Compare the account of the impeachment of Philocrates for moving to allow Philip to send a herald and envoy to treat for peace in the early part of B.C. 346 (*ÆSCHIN. contra CTES.* p. 63), and also the impeachment of Apollodorus for diverting the Theoric fund to war purposes. *DEM. contra NEAR.* p. 1346.

[*Τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν.*] These words have a double signification; subjective, *odium quo aliquem prosequor*; objective, *odium quod est apud me contra aliquem.* BREMI, who further states that the difficulty is in the preposition *πρὸς*. But Schæfer rightly remarks: *Hanc ambiguitatem non pendere à prepositione πρὸς, sed ipsam per se inesse substantivo ἀπέχθεια, quod nunc activam vim, nunc passivam habet.* It occurs in both significations in *De Cor.* p. 237. Cf. *F. & L. LEG.* p. 368. *Τμῖν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκε.* The word *invidia* is similarly used in Latin.

[*Ὡς δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ.*] *Ὡς = quam.* *However heinous and unbearable they may be.* *Οἱ καθήμενοι, sc. ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ ἀκούοντες.* the hearers.

[*Ὡς μὲν ἂν συνείητε.*] *For making just speeches and understanding another who may make them.* *Ὡς si hoc loco finalis particula esset, conjunctivi sequi debebant.* Sed orator hoc dicit eo modo, quasi eo genere apparatus, *quo justas orationes habere possitis, melius Philippo instructi et parati estis, i. e. ad orationes habendas parati estis.* FRANK. Elmsley denies *Ὡς ἂν* finalis in Attic writers at *SOPH. AJAX,* 1217.

[*Ἐφ' ὧν ἐστὶ νῦν.*] *Which he now aims at.* The force of *ἐπι* here is to denote *steady continuance in a thing.* Cf. *DEM. PHIL.* i. p. 42. *Ἐπι τῆς τοιαύτης γενέσθαι γνώμης—firmiter adherere huic rationi.* *De REB. CHERS.* *Μένειν ἐπι τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὡσπερ νῦν.* *SOPH. ANT.* 1127. *Ὡς βίαια ἔχεται πανδήμιος πόλις ἐπι νόσου,* where, however, Musgrave reads *ὕπδ* on account of the construction.

[*Συμβαίνει δὲ εἰκός.*] *And therefore a necessary and perhaps natural result follows.* *Ἀῆ* is frequently used to draw a conclu-

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sion, and sometimes to make a new point in an argument. *JAN*
721. 'Εν οἷς, an explanatory or determinative proposition,
often used, like a direct one, asyndetically. This is a very fre-
quent form in PLATO. BREMI.

Δικαιότερα.] Cf. supra δικαίους λόγους. FRANKE explains these
words: *Eæ orationes dicuntur, quibus jura Atheniensium ad-
versus Philippum defenduntur.* The orator therefore tells them,
such orations suffice, there is no further trouble. 'Ρῥῆδιον. The
copula omitted, which is frequently the case with this word, as
also φροῦδον, ἔτοιμον, δύνατον.

Καὶ μὴ προελθόντα. . . . ἀντᾶραι δυνησόμεθα.] *And that passing
events may no longer escape the notice of us all, and a mighty power
may be raised up, which we shall not be able to withstand.* 'Επι-
σται μέγεθος δυνάμεως = *Ne magnitudo copiarum ingruat, i. e. Ne
tantis copiis et viribus oppugnemur.* 'Αντᾶραι, is sometimes
transitive, as in THUC. i. 53. "Ὅπλα ἀνταιρομένοι. iii. 52. Ὁ
χεῖρας ἀνταιρομένους; and intransitive in the present instance, as
also in OL. ii. p. 25.

'Ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος.] *The same manner of giving advice.* *Ne
eadem profecto consulendi ratio, quæ prius est adhibenda.*
LUCCHESINI. 'Ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος = *eadem ratio; αὐτὸς ὁ τρόπος =
ratio ipsa.* A like usage is observed with πᾶς. HER. ix. 81.
πάντα δέκα, *ten in all.* Δέκα πάντα, *ten each; ἡ πᾶσα πόλις,
city, as a whole; πᾶσα ἡ πόλις, all the city, and still further πᾶ-
σα πόλις, every city.*

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Τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ. . . . προαιρετέον.] *The best and safest measures
are to be preferred to the easiest and most agreeable.* The words
σώσοντα must have been used here to excite the attention of the
audience, and suggest to them that with Philip now enveloping
them in his snares (PHIL. i. p. 43,) they could not be safe. The
orator thus catches their attention.

'Ηλίκος ἤδη. . . . Φίλιππος.] *What like the power of Philip
and what he has made himself master of.* 'Ηλίκος. Philip was
this time an Amphictyon, elected in the room of the deposed Per-
sians, and as such might, in case of any necessity, be elected
general in an Amphictyonic war against Athens. "Ὅσων.

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was now absolute master from the Sinus Corinthiacus to the river
 Cephirus, and northward nearly to the Ister. Besides he held
 Thermopylæ with a garrison. PHIL. iii. p. 119. Cf. ISOC. EPIST.
 and PHILIPPUM, advising him to put himself at the head of Athens,
 Argos, and Sparta, and uniting their forces for a general war against
 Persia. Ζοὶ δὲ μόνῃ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ τῆς τυχῆς δεδομένην, πρὸς
 τοῖσι καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δύναμιν κεκτημένον, ὅσῃ οὐδεὶς τῶν
 Ἀλλήνων.

'Ἐφ' ὑμᾶς.] = καθ' ὑμᾶς, εἰς τὸ καταδουλώσασθαι ὑμᾶς. WOLF.
 The orator could give no positive proof that such was the case,
 it was justified in his suspicions.

Δεσθῆναι.] This verb is construed with a gen. of person only,
 as here; or another of the thing, as HER. iii. 157. τῶν ἐδέετο
 τῶν. Sometimes an acc. is also joined with it; as THUC. v. 57.
 ἐδέοντο Βοιωτῶν. Cf. De COR. p. 227. Ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων
 ἡμῶν ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι μοι.

Διὰ βραχέων.] *Paucis (verbis): In few words.* Other forms to
 express the same idea are, ἐν βραχεῖ, ἐν βραχέσι. SOPH. EL. 675.
 κατὰ βραχύ. THUC. iv. 90.

Δι' οὗς.] "Vulg. καὶ δι' ὧν. Dedi de meo sensu, καὶ δι' οὗς sc.
 ἰσχυρισμούς." REISKE. Ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν.] Παραστικῆναι
 Stat mihi sententia. It has occurred to me to think, &c. Cf.
 L. iii. p. 28. Οὐχὶ ταῦτ' ἀριστὰ μοι γινώσκεις. Δι' ὧν.
 The signification of these words is: *the very thing which we use*
as an instrument, whereas δι' οὗς signifies the remote cause which
we look to. VEMEL.

Βέλτιον.] After this word τῶν ἄλλων is inserted in many edi-
 tions, on which HERMANN remarks, "Nihil est causæ, cur omitta-
 tur." I have rejected it with DINDORF and the best English
 editions.

Οἱ θαρροῦντες. . . . ἀτῆ.] *Those unterrified persons who trust*
in me, alluding more particularly to Æschines and Philocrates.
 ἠθαρροῦντες, securi, imperterriti. WOLF. Posterius præstat.
 CHEFER. Προσθήσθε, sc. ψῆφον. You may agree with them. The
 word ψῆφον is not added at all times, but we have the full con-
 nection in DEM. p. 1820, προσθέμενοι τὴν ψῆφον; and in ÆSCHE.
 735, ψῆφον δ' Ὀρέστη τῆνδ' ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι, and also in

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ΤΙΠΙ. i. 40. The general meaning, *to join or add one's self to*, with the addition of ψήφον, means *to agree with, to give one's vote in favour of*.

Λογίζομαι.] *Reason thus*. Πυλῶν. By the seizure of this pass he secured an entrance into Greece, and the power of determining the Phocian war.

Τῶν ἐν Φωκεΐσι πραγμάτων.] Τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας, καὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τῶν Πυθίων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῆς ὕλης Φωκίδος. WOLF. *Rerum quæ in Phocensibus gerebantur*. FRANKE. Soon after his entering Pylæ, he proclaimed himself the ally of Thebes, DEM. FALS. LEG. p. 369, and destroyed the Phocian towns to the number of twenty-two. FALS. LEG. p. 379.

*Ἀθηναίοις προείλετο.] *He preferred to act in the interest of the Thebans, and not in ours*. In the oration *De Pace*, p. 53, Demosthenes gives the promises upon which Philip was allowed to pass Thermopylæ, after the orator had done all he could to prevent him. FALS. LEG. p. 346. He says, that Philip would protect the Phocians, disperse the Thebans, repeople Thespiæ and Platea, and give the Athenians Eubœa and Oropus in return for Amphipolis. But soon after the passage, he not only proclaimed himself the confederate of Thebes, but restored to them Orchomenos, Coronea and Corsia, and transferred to them a portion of Phocis, and in addition declared that he would follow up the Theban policy in regard to Phocis, and all other matters. FALS. LEG. pp. 365, 369.

*Ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν ἐξετάζων.] *Making his calculations with a view to his own aggrandizement, and the reduction of everything under himself, &c.* Οὐδὲ δίκαιον οὐδέν. *Nor anything that is just*.

*Ὅτι τῇ μὲν προεῖπτε.] *That to our city, and to principles such as ours, he could neither offer nor perform anything of such a kind, as that, persuaded by it, for your own advantage, you would sacrifice to him any of the other Greeks.* Ἐνδείξατο. *Se ostentatum esse*. ARNOLD following FRANKE translates this word *would be able to pretend, se nihil ejusmodi ostentare*, i. e. polliceri, cum famen præstare nollet. But this is scarcely the meaning, and I have preferred the interpretation of VÖEML and SCHÆFER.

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τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ποιούμενοι.] *Justitia rationem habentes*—Forming a just estimate of what is right. Πάνθ' ἂ προσήκει προοράμενοι, Ὅπια quæ decet providentes,—Exercising proper forethought. Ἀντὶ τῶν ἰαυτοῖς γιγνομένων.] *In return for the services rendered them.* What the services and benefits were has already been stated above.

Ὄχι ὄπως ἀλλὰ καί.] *Non solum non sed etiam.* JELF. 62, 3, c.

Καὶ νῦν εἰ ποιεῖ.] *And now having formed the same judgment, he is befriending the Messenians and Argives.* The hatred of these people to Sparta made them not only anxious to unite with Philip against her, but even to prefer his authority to any interference from Sparta. Hence below we find that he had sent money to them, and was even expected there himself, p. 69. Farther from *De PACE*, p. 61, we learn that these same people were hostile to Athens on account of her treating with the Lacedæmonians.

Καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον.] The use of *κατὰ* here is exceptional. It means *in the case of, about, in regard to* the object of consideration, regarded as lying beneath *under consideration*. Still, however, other examples of this use are found in classical authors. *ARISTOT. DE ANIM.* i. 1, *Μία μέθοδος κατὰ πάντων*, and compare the parallel passage in *De Cor.* p. 300. “Καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Ὀθηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν κάλλιστα.” SCHÆFER.

Κέρριστε γὰρ προέσθαι.] *For you alone of all are adjudged by these very actions of his as not likely to barter the common rights of the Greeks for any advantage to yourselves.* Τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἀλλήνων. WESTERMANN interprets this to refer to the independence of the Greek states secured by the peace of Antalcidas, which was disturbed by the seizure of the Kadmeia by the Lacedæmonians. But it refers with far more likelihood to the absolute freedom enjoyed by them, which they were now too anxious to give up to the Macedonian. *Μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους προέσθαι.* *De REB. CHERS.* p. 107. Care must be taken not to understand *ἕνεκα* in either case. *Est aliquid perdere ut aliud lucreris.* SCHÆFER. *Κέρδους, χάριτος, ὠφελείας.* Genitive of price.

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Ὅς ἑτέρως.] Ὅς abundat eleganter, et vacat ante ἑτέρως, sicuti quam apud Latinos ante superlativum. WOLF. It is not redundant, but increases the force of the adverb, as if you had said: *how different! ut aliter!*

Τὰ πρὸ τούτων λογίζομενος.] *From a consideration of our previous history.*

Ἐξὼν αὐτοῖς. . . . βασιλεῖ.] *When they could have ruled the rest of the Greeks provided that they acknowledged the king, &c.* ISOCRATES in his *Panegyric* relates the same fact. "HERODOTUS makes no mention of it so far as I know." WOLF. "Ὡστε. Conjunctionem expectaveris quæ conditionem exprimat, ἐφ' ἧστε, sub ea conditione, ut; Ὡστε significat consequentiam. BREMI. Cf. THUC. iv. 23. "Ὡστε τοὺς ἄνδρας σῶσας, ut cives suos servaret.

Βασιλεῖ.] Dative after ὑπακούειν, which also governs the genitive, as THUC. ὑπακούοντος τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Ἦνικ' ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων πρόγονος.] *Τούτων, sc. Μακεδόνων.* Series generis: Amyntas, Alexander, Amyntas, Philippus, Alexander. The circumstances alluded to here are briefly these. After the battle of Salamis, (Sept. 23rd, 480) Xerxes hastened to the Hellespont, and crossed over into Asia Minor, leaving Mardonius with a force of nearly 300,000 men, made up of Persians, Bactrians and Medians, with contingents from other nations. HER. viii. 113. Mardonius marched into Thessaly and there wintered; and in the meantime certain old oracles were revived "that the Athenians and Persians should conquer Lacedæmon." HER. viii. 141. The time seemed opportune to send an envoy to Athens with offers of an equal and independent alliance, HER. viii. 140, and also of the restoration of all that Xerxes had destroyed. The envoy was Alexander of Macedon, who, with the Bœotian leaders, still remained faithful to Mardonius. The answer of Athens was to this effect, HER. viii. 143: "Tell us not that the power of the Mede is greater than ours; we know that too: but we regard freedom more, and will defend it as long as we can. And now tell Mardonius, so long as the sun continues in the course she now does, we never can form alliance with Xerxes." And to Alexander himself they said: "We desire no harm to come to thee, being a guest (πρόξενον) of the Athenians, but for

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the future, bearing such messages as these, show not thyself to the Athenians." Then turning to the Spartan envoys, who came to induce them to remain firm to the cause of Grecian freedom, they, replied, viii. 144: "There is not enough gold anywhere in the earth, nor any territory so abounding in beauty, and fruitfulness, in return for which we could be induced to medize (μηδίζαντες) and enslave Greece, for so long as one Athenian survives, in no way can we form alliance with Xerxes." The answer of the Athenians being conveyed by Alexander to Mar-donius, he set his army in motion, and, passing through Bœotia, again appeared before Athens, which was a second time abandoned to the Persians, June, 479. HER. ix. 2, 3. The inhabitants fled to Salamis, and despatched envoys to Sparta for aid. Mar-donius sent a Hellespontine Greek, Murychides, to renew the offers of Alexander, and held out the additional inducement to them that he would not ravage their territory. Again his offers were rejected so unanimously that Lycides, an Athenian senator, having alone proposed their acceptance, was set upon by the rest, and stoned to death, ix. 4, 5. Finding them obstinate, and not being able to remain in Attica, Mardonius retreated into Bœotia, and soon after (Sept. 25, 479,) was defeated at Platæa. The Persian power on the same day received another reverse from Cimon, in the famous battle of Mycale.

Τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν.] Alluding to the evacuation of the city and the withdrawal to Salamis, both when Xerxes was advancing in 480 and again in 479. Μετὰ ταῦτα, must refer to both these desertsions of the city.

"Α πάντες μὲν ἀεὶ γλίσχονται λέγειν.] Which all are eager to pro-claim. Πάντες. These glorious actions have been celebrated among others by PHRYNICUS in his lost *Phenissa*, ÆSCH. *Persæ*, ISOCRATES, *Oratio Panegyrica*, c. 27, and chiefly HERODOTUS, Books vi. vii. viii. and ix, who, in his narrative of this very event, uses the verb γλίσχεται, here employed by Demosthenes, viii. 143.

'Αξιὸς δ' οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται.] Yet none could worthily pro-claim them. Mr. Kennedy appositely quotes Shaks. Coriol. Act ii. sc. 2. :

I shall lack voice; the deeds of Coriolanus
Should not be uttered feebly.

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For οὐδείς, SCHAEFER prefers οὐδ' εἶς, which is certainly stronger. Not one.

'Ἔστι γὰρ μεῖζω. . . . ἂν εἶποι.] For their deeds are so great that one cannot speak them. "The word λόγῳ is frequently contrasted with ἔργῳ, the former denoting the name, pretext, or appearance, the latter, the reality." BRASSE ad CEd. COL. 781. Cf. POISSON *Phœnissæ*, 512, and the examples there cited.

Τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων. . . . προγόνους.] Depending upon εὐπλοῦς τοὺς μὲν. . . . τοὺς δέ. The former, fellow-soldiers with the barbarian; the latter, not opposed to them. The Thebans seem to have had an unenviable notoriety among the Greeks on account of their favouring the enemies of their common country. They fought with Mardonius against the Athenians at Plataea. Herodotus ix. 67. And as regards Argos we learn from Herodotus vii. 148, that after much hesitation they consented to join, if the Lacedaemonians would make a truce of thirty years, and allow them to be the leaders of one half of the army, stating at the same time that they were entitled to the whole, but would be contented with the half. This having been refused, they remained neutral, alleging as the reason that they could join no Panhellenic levy, unless as chiefs. It is probable even, as Herodotus hints, that they would have preferred the success of Persia to a further aggrandizement of Sparta. Then again in 479 they sent word to Mardonius of the intended march of Pausanias to the aid of the Athenians, in consequence of which he evacuated Athens. GROTE, chap. xxxix. says that some affirmed that the Argives invited the Persians into Greece as a means of protection and vengeance to themselves against Sparta after their defeat by Cleomenes.

'Ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντες.] Will study their own private interests. 'Αγάπᾳ here has the accusative of equivalent relation. 'Ἰδίᾳ, dativeus commodi. 'Αγάπᾳ is also construed with the dative of what causes the emotion, as: ἀγαπᾶν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, LYSIAS, 192, 26, To be contented with the good things in hand.

'Ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαιοις.] Upon just principles. Vos neque minister libidinum, neque adjuutores ad injurias. WOLF.

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Ἐκείνους ἀντ' ὑμῶν. . . . ἀπείραι.] Both then and now he selects them instead of you. Τότε "relates to the period before the peace. The words καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, and others of a like character, are usually joined with a present tense, SOPH. EL. 676, νῦν τε καὶ τότε ἐνέπω. This is even true if the order of the words be reversed, as "καὶ νῦν θ' ὁμοίως καὶ τότε ἐξαπίσταμαι." SCHAEFER. Sometimes, however, the tenses vary, but when such is the case the latter is added to strengthen the former, as PLATO. GORGIAS, 43. Ταῦτα ἐλεγον καὶ τότε, καὶ νῦν λέγω. In De CORONA, p. 236, Demosthenes says: Ἐπεὶ οὐ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, καὶ αἰεὶ ὁμολογῶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι τοῦτοισι.

Οὐ γὰρ δὴ. . . . ὑμῖν οὖσας.] For surely he does not find them in possession of more triremes than you. For ὄρῳ, ὄραν and ὄρῶ are given as readings by REISKE. Again: for οὖσας the common reading is ἐνούσας. WOLF suggested οὖσας or παρούσας. We have given οὖσας with BEKKER, DINDORF, and the best English editions. Thebes, being an inland city, could scarcely have a navy, and in reality had none.

Οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ. . . . ἀφέστηκεν.] Nor has he acquired an inland empire, and renounced that of the sea and the maritime cities. The meaning is: "Although he eagerly desires an empire by land, much more does he wish to acquire one by sea—but although he knows you to be the most suitable to acquire it for him, still he distrusts your integrity" WOLF. τῶν ἐμπορίων is governed by ἀφέστηκεν.

Οὐδ' ἀνημνεῖ.] And makes no mention of the speeches and promises. This verb nearly always governs the genitive, but when it means to retain in the memory, to repeat from memory, &c., it governs the accusative. Ἐπισχέσεις. Libanius in the argument of the oration, says Philip denied having ever made any promises which he did not afterwards carry out. If such be the case, Eschines and Philocrates must have invented a strange story for the Athenians, as related by DEM. FALS. Leg. p. 409. He there relates that Philip promised, on condition of obtaining peace, that he would save the Phocians, humble the pride of Thebes, confer benefits on you beyond the value of Amphipolis, and re-annex Eubœa and Oropus." And this is confirmed by the De Pace,

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p. 59. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 346. *Depending upon one hope after another, and upon promises (ὑποσχέσεσιν);* p. 391. *Nor that there should be witnesses of the promises (ὑποσχεσέων) upon which he obtained the peace.*

Ἐφ' αὐτῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.] *Upon which he obtained the peace.* ARNOLD remarks upon this: "As if the Athenians had dictated to him the terms of peace." Not so. For after the peace had been sworn and the ambassadors had returned to Athens, Demosthenes, being senator that year, made a report of the proceedings of the embassy in presence of a large audience, shewing them the whole proceedings from first to last, laying down his suspicions of Æschines, Philocrates, and Philip, and advising them to send away a fleet to seize Thermopylæ (FALS. LEG. p. 346). The ships were ready at a moment's notice, having been voted in case of any emergency, p. 444. Also ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 33. Demosthenes then means that, *if the Athenians had not been deceived by false promises, they would not have granted peace.*

Ὡς πάντα τὰτα εἰδώς.] *With a knowledge of these facts;* i. e. Knowing you to be above corruption, and the Thebans and Argives to be venal and possessed of less naval advantages. SCHÆFER connects εἶποι εἰδώς, and says: *Dicat aliquis quæ totum rerum hodiernarum statum penitus conspectum habens.*

Ἀλλὰ τῶ δικαιοτέρῳ ἀξιούν.] *Quod æquiora postulant.* *Would.* *Because the demands of the Thebans were more just.* The common reading is δικαιοτέρους, *quod justiores judicant Thebanos, quæ vos.*

καὶ μόνον.] When καὶ is thus added to verbs, adjectives, and indefinites, it has an intensive force. Νῦν. After he had ordered the Lacedæmonians to give up Messene. REISKE.

Μεσσηνίην.] The wars of Sparta to acquire this territory, and the persistency she showed in refusing the autonomy of the city of Messen are well known. On two separate occasions, after the battles of Leuctra and Martinea, she refused to make peace, that were a condition. (XEN. HELLEN. vii. 4; DIOD. xv. 89.) The fact, it was too galling to Sparta to acknowledge a people sprung from her own Helots, and a city founded as a memorial of her defeat. Yet all the allies of Sparta in her wars against The-

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[Page 16.] would have acknowledged the city, and it was even made a matter of Athenian foreign policy. DEM. *pro MEGAL.* pp. 204, 206. That Philip should now order them to give up all claim against the city, must have been violently opposed by them.

‘Ορχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν.] These cities had always been autonomous, and Thebes had no right to them, except the right of the strongest.

Τῶ δίκαια σκήψαιτο ;] *Could he allege by way of excuse that he had done these things from a conviction of justice? Cf. for a similar meaning of σκήπτεσθαι, HER. vii. 28. Οὐδὲ σκήψομαι τὸ μὴ εἶδέναι τὴν ἐμειωντοῦ οὐσίην.* The grammarians explain this verb by *προφασίζεσθαι*. “The Lacedæmonians might contend that they possessed a prescriptive right to Messene; whereas the Thebans could only plead their desire to obtain Orchomenos and Coronea.” JACOBS.

‘Αλλ’ ἐβιάσθη, καὶ παρὰ γνώμην συνεχώρησε ταῦτα] *But he was compelled by force, and yielded these things against his will.* Not a supposed objection, as Arnold declares, but an actual representation, as we learn from *De Pace*, p. 62. *Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δήπου τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐδ’ ἐβούλετο ἀλλ’ ἠναγκάσθη.* And we may conclude that Æschines would invent such an excuse to palliate his previous representations of Philip's intentions. *τῶν Θετταλῶν ληφθεῖς.] Being surrounded by Thessalian horse and Theban infantry.* The Thebans and Thessalians always regarded Philip with friendly feelings; the former, ever since his residence among them; the latter, since the time when he subdued Onomarchus and Lycophron of Pheræ. Both had been favourable during the Phocian War. *Ἰππέων.* “The Thessalian cavalry was famous, the country being well adapted for breeding horses. It consisted of above 3,000 men and even that number could, as XENOPHON (*HELLEN.* vi. 1, 8) tells, be doubled in times of danger.” ARNOLD.

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Ἰππίας ἔχειν.] *For ὄποπτεῦν, suspectum habere, diffidere.* The Thebans were an object of envy to the Athenians, and any news tending to a reduction of the Boeotian city was eagerly received. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 54. *Πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλειψιν.*

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ὄς ἑλάτειαν τειχιεῖ.] *That he is going to fortify Elatea.* Τειχιεῖ. Attic future. Elatea, a town of Phocis, and next to Delphi the most important, was situated in a fertile valley near the Cephissus, and formed the key to the pass from Thessaly into Bœotia. It shared the fate of the other Phocian towns destroyed by Philip at the conclusion of the Sacred War. Philip did not desire to garrison the town so long as he could rely upon Thebes, and it would have seemed strange if the new Amphictycon avenger of Apollo had restored and garrisoned a town so lately destroyed by himself. However, in B.C. 339, he seized the town while marching as the Amphictycon general to punish the Locrians, and soon after commenced to fortify it. This was even more than Demosthenes at this time (B. C. 344-3) expected Philip in his march southward in 339 concealed his object until he came into possession of Elatea, and then, being in a position to force the Thebans, he disclosed to them the true object of his march, viz., the attacking of the Athenians. DEM. *De Cor.* p. 293, 299.

Καὶ μελήσει γε.] *And indeed he will be about to do these things.* Καὶ. . . . γε, *et quidem.* JELF, 735, 10; or γε may mean *moreover*, as in EUR. MED. 1392.

Συμβάλλειν οὐ μέλλει.] On this reading FRANKE observed, adopting it as his reading, and referring it to Μεσσηνίους ἀγοεῖν Ἀργείοις, Sunt dativæ qui dicuntur commodi, "pro Messeniis Argivis," sc. *in horum commodum, cum Lacedæmoniis confistitur.* The reading of SCHÆFER, authorized by many manuscripts, is συνεισβάλλειν, but we hear of no invasion, and this reading can therefore hardly be correct. I have retained the reading συμβάλλειν, and would translate: *But that he is going to join the Argives and Messenians against the Lacedæmonians: this he is not going to do.* He might send them money and men, and might even have expected himself, but he is not really going.

Ἐένους εἰσπέμπει.] A rhetorical flourish of Demosthenes to indicate the contempt of Philip for anything like secrecy in this matter. We read nowhere else of such mercenaries having been sent

Τοὺς μὲν ἕντας ἐχθροὺς. . . . νῦν σὴν σὴν σὴν:] *Is he now going*

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destroy the Lacedæmonians, being enemies of the Thebans, and is he about to protect the Thebans, whom he formerly destroyed? An answer to those who said he was compelled to do in Phocis, what he would not have wished, by the Thebans. He shews the absurdity of that by his present acts. "Οντας Hoc loco magnam vim habet, significat emia existere, oppositum οὐς ἀπόλεσεν. BREMI. 'Απόλεσεν. DEM. de FALS. LEG. p. 361, describes the appearance of the country after Philip had destroyed its towns: Οἰκίας κατεσκαμμένας, τείχη περιρηγμένα, χώραν ἔρημον τῶν ἐνηλικίᾳ, γύναια δὲ καὶ παιδάρια ὀλιγά, καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους οἰκτρούς οὐδ' ἂν εἰς δύναϊτ' ἐφίκεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν νῦν ὄντων.

Kal τίς ἂν. . . . πιστεύσειεν.] *And who, pray, could believe this?* Kal is thus elegantly used to introduce some *inconsequence* in the question. ARNOLD. Cf. CIC. MILO. 33, *Et sunt qui de via Appia querantur, taceant de curia?*

'Εγὼ μὲν οὐδ' ἂν. . . . ἐναντιοῦσθαι.] *For I, for my part, do not think that Philip would continually oppose the enemies of the Thebans, even if he had acted so at first much against his will, and were now beginning to give them up in despair.* The first ἂν belongs to ἐναντιοῦσθαι, JELF. 405, 2, and is then repeated (*epanaleptically*) as is often done, with one of the 'οὔτε's. ARNOLD. 'Εγὼ μὲν = ego equidem.

'Εκ προαιρέσεως.] Used adverbially *ex instituto*. Cf. p. 1097, Ἄλλ' ἐκ προαιρέσεως καὶ βουλήσεως γίγνοντα.

'Εκ πάντων δ' συντάττων.] *And upon the whole, if any one take a correct view of the matter, everything he takes in hand, cunningly moulds in opposition to our city.* Συντάττων, adjungit socios, per quos nos oppugnet.

Πραγματεύεται.] i. e., δηλός ἐστι πραγματευόμενος, deprehenditur, si quis recte reputet, eum omnia machinari in fraudem reipublice. REISKE. The whole course of Philip's policy from his capture of Amphipolis till the fatal defeat at Cheronæa, only showed too truly the correctness of this declaration of Demosthenes. Νῦν γε δῆ.] *Now at least, nunc certe quidem, whatever it may have been formerly.* ARNOLD.

Τούτου δ' ὕμᾱς.] *And he has persuaded himself that you*

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alone are opposed to this, to his desire of absolute dominion. SCHAEFER reads here *ὑπειληφώς, quia sibi persuasit*, and removes the full point at *ὑμῶς*.

Καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸς . . . ἑαυτῷ.] And he knows this best in his own mind. On this whole passage cf. the speech of Caius Memmius in SALL. JUG. Chap. xxxi. *Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quæ spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse: facere illi injurias, vos prohibere, postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse?*

Ὅς γὰρ οὖσιν, ὑμετέροις . . . τούτοις] = τούτοις ἂ ὄντα ὑμέτερον ἔχει, ὅς being attracted into the case of the antecedent. For by his retaining what belongs to you, he has easily become possessed of all else. Amphipolis and Potidæa were the *ἐπιτεχίσματα* of Athens against Macedon.

Οὐδ' ἂν οἴκοι . . . ἤγειτο.] He could not think that he was firmly seated at home. *Οἴκοι.* In Macedonia. *Ne domi quidem in tuto posse manere duceret.* WOLF.

Δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν μισεῖν.] He thinks you must justly hate him. The common reading is *νομίζει*. REISKI gives this reading, and remarks upon it: *Nam ἂν neque ad istud, neque ad hoc refertur sed ad μισεῖν, existimat vos, se si exosi sitis, meritum odium Παρώξυνται. He is goaded on. Πείσσεθαί τι. He will suffer some calamity.*

**Ἄν μὴ . . . πρότερος.] Unless he first prevent you.* Cf. PAN. i. p. 43, *μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε*. The participle is joined with *φθάσω*, to express the antecedent or coincident notion to which the action of the verb relates. JELF. 693.

Διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορον, ἐφέστηκεν.] On this account he is awake he is on the alert. *Ἐγρήγορον.* 2nd Perf. Ind.—the present being Attic. This passage is cited by Minucianus, who connects *ἐφέστηκεν* with *ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει*. But it is better to connect it with *θεραπεύει*, and understand with *ἐφέστηκεν, τοῖς πράγμασιν, τοῖς κατὰ τῆς πόλεως καιροῖς*. REISKE. *Ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει. Alios ambit, colit, promeretur, quo reipublicæ nostræ nocent.* Nourishes them against the city.

Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταῦτ' αὖ βουλομένους τούτοις.] And of Peloponnesians those who wish these things.

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Peloponnestans, desiring the same things as they, i. e. the Thebans. Some of the tribes of Peloponnesus began to be suspicious of Athens on account of her dealings with Sparta, and in consequence allied themselves to Philip. Demosthenes, by his embassy to the Megalopolitans and others, may have increased this feeling, for they imagined that not to hate Sparta was to be her ally.

Διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα πρόβλεσθαι.] *And from dullness of understanding will foresee none of the results.* I can hardly understand this of the Thebans, or why SMEAD should here quote HORACE: *Bæotum in crasso jurares aere natum*, EP. ii. i. 244. It is evident from the context that the words refer not only to the Thebans but also to the partisans of Philip in Peloponnesus.

Καίτοι ἰδεῖν.] *And yet those who have any discernment may see tolerably plain examples.* Ἄ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους, εἰπεῖν συνέβη. *Which fell to my lot to mention to the Messenians and Argives.* This embassy of Demosthenes to Peloponnesus is involved in some obscurity. From *De Cor.* p. 252, we learn that Demosthenes proposed an embassy to that country when Philip first clandestinely made attempts against it; ὅτε πρῶτον αἰκέριος παρεδύετο. As nearly as can be determined this must have been in the Archonship of Eubulus, OL. 108, 4. There is another embassy mentioned in the Third Philippic, p. 129, which is there stated to have taken place the year before (πέρουσι). It is evident that this one cannot here be alluded to. On the whole, then, we may conclude that Demosthenes went on the embassy proposed by himself, of which mention is made in the *De Corona*, and that there were two embassies to the Peloponnesus.

Πῶς γὰρ Ὀλυνθίους.] *For I said, how impatiently, think you, would the Olynthians listen.* γὰρ refers to ἔφην, and ἀκούειν, προσδοκᾶν are to be considered the imperfect infinitives. ARNOLD.

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Εἴ τις τι λέγοι.] *Si quid quisquam dixisset.* REISKE. *If any one had said anything.* Κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους. *During that particular time.* Κατὰ in such cases signifies *at*. THUC. i. 32. Κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον. HER. iii. 131. Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον.

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'Ανθεμούντα.] Demosthenes here is his own historian. Anthemus lay between Olynthus and Therna, and is supposed from its connection here with Potidæa to have been ceded to Olynthus by Philip during the years of the Social War against Athens. This cession of territory by Macedonian kings was not unusual. Perdiccas II. had ceded to these same Olynthians a portion of his territory near Lake Bolbe, in the neighbourhood of Olynthus. THUC. i. 58.

Βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιούοντο.] Both HER. v. 94, and THUC. ii. 99, speak of this city as belonging to the Macedonians. Ποτίδαια. Supposed to have been ceded to Olynthus at the time when, having been refused a treaty with Athens, they formed one with Philip. This was during the continuance of the Social War. B.C. 358-355. The precise date is given as OL. 105, 4.

'Αποίκους.] *Emigrants.* ἐποίκοις. *Settlers.* ARNOLD, in a note to THUC. ii. 27, says, "Men are ἀποίκοι with respect to their old home, and ἐποίκοι with respect to their new one. This is the simplest and most probable way of stating the distinction between these words, and I am confirmed in it by the authority of KRÜGER, note on DIONYSIUS, p. 101." The same distinction holds in the words *emigrants* and *immigrants*. These ἀποίκοι are often called κληροῦχοι, *men to whom a conquered territory is assigned by law.* Cf. on this extrusion of the Athenian citizens from Potidæa. DE HALON. p. 79.

Ἡμᾶς.] WOLF says, I prefer ἡμᾶς, and REISKE adds: Non enim hic alloquitur Athenienses Demosthenes, sed Messenios. Ad eam itaque de Atheniensibus prædicantem in consentaneum sit usurpare, ubi res nos requirit.

*Ἡ λέγοντος ἔν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε;] *Or do you think they would have believed anybody if he told them so?* Ἄν is joined with πιστεῦσαι and λέγοντός τινος is the gen. abs. "Nor must we exclude those instances where the gen. abs. is joined with a verb which requires the dative, but in this construction is used without a case; as DEM. p. 71, where we might also say ἡ λέγοντος τινι πιστεῦσαι." JELF. 710, Obs. 1.

Μικρὸν χρόνονστέρωνται.] *For a short time having enjoyed the territory of another, long are they deprived of their own by*

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ἄρ. Πολύν. "The orator is here a bad prophet, as he reckons upon the final defeat of Philip, and the restoration of Olynthian independence by the Athenian confederacy, though after a long (πολύν) servitude." ARNOLD. This appears to me hardly correct. The allusion seems entirely to the Olynthians and their subjugation by Philip.

Ὁὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον.....καὶ πρᾶθέντες.] *Not only subdued, but also betrayed and sold by each other.* The reference here is doubtless to Lasthenes and Euthykrates, who betrayed the Olynthian cavalry, and thus led to the fall of the city. FALS. LEG. p. 426. DIODOR. xvi. 53.

Ὁὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς.....θμιλίαι] *For these too intimate alliances with tyrants are not safe to free constitutions.* On the construction of this sentence see JELF. 590, Obs. 1. The allusion here is not so much to the union of Philip and Olynthus, as to the now proposed union between the Messenians and Macedon. Cf. OL. i. p. 10. Καὶ ὕλως ἀπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιταῖς ἢ τυραννίς.

Ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλεν.] *When he cast out the tyrants for them.* Τυράννους. Peitholaus and Lycophron, brothers of Thebe, wife of Alexander of Pheræ. Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν. Nicæa was captured, together with Alponus and Thronium, by the Phocians, in the Sacred War, and the envoys offered to give them to Athens, which was rejected by Phalæcus. After Philip passed Thermopylæ in 346 he occupied Nicæa with a garrison. DEM. EPIST. ad PHIL. p. 153. Νικίαιαν μὲν φρουρᾷ κατέχων. The city was near the pass of Thermopylæ, and is mentioned by ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 286, as one of the keys of that pass. At what time it was given back to the Thessalians is not known with certainty.

Magnesia is a long narrow strip of land from the Peneus to the Pagasean Gulf, along the eastern coast of Thessaly. No town of this name is mentioned by Strabo or Scylax, but the Scholiast on APOLLON. RHOD. i. 584, mentions it. Μαγνησία δὲ πόλις χώρα μόνονμος. The Thessalians prevented Philip fortifying it, OL. i. p. 15, καὶ Μαγνησίαν κεκωλόκασι τειχίζειν. A different statement is made in OL. ii. p. 21.

Δεκαδραχίαν.] This word has introduced a most abundant

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field for criticism among commentators. WOLF accepted it as the true reading, and explains it to mean, a *decemvirate* now established among them. Philippum decuriones singulis civitatibus praefercisse intelligo, id quod et Lacedaemonii fecerunt. "Thessaly long before Philip's time had been divided into four governments. Philip, therefore, by restoring the old form, made no innovation in the government of the country." REISKE. From this it will be seen that he favours the reading of τετραρχίαν. This is also AUGER's opinion, and it is further strengthened by HARPOCRATION, who denies that Philip established any δεκαδρχίαν. Φίλιππος μέντοι παρὰ Θετταλοῖς δεκαδρχίας οὐ κατέστησεν. It must also be stated that Demosthenes in PHIL. iii. p. 117, expressly says καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν. Taking all this into view, JACOBS says: "I do not think that any change of the word is wanted, if we understand the orator as speaking not of any particular form of government, but of such an absolute rule as the Lacedaemonians were accustomed to exercise over conquered cities, the name of which (*Decadarchy, Decemvirate*) sounded more hateful in Athenian ears than even that of tyranny." WEISKE adopts this view and VEMEL rejects it. I shall now state his view, which I regard as the more correct one. He accepts as correct both statements of Demosthenes. "He reestablished the four ancient divisions of Thessaly called Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis and Hestiaeotis, and over each of these he appointed a tetrarch, *praefecturum quartae partis terrae*, and in addition appointed a general government of ten, or a *decemvirate* for the entire country. He thus established both, and Demosthenes in his speech at Messene would of course use the Lacedaemonian term δεκαδρχία, as the more odious, while at Athens speaking of the same event, he uses the milder term τετραρχίαν. JACOBS agrees in the main with this, but differs from it in taking it for granted that an actual decemvirate was established, *fact it would be difficult to prove*" But let us see how this stands. In DEM. de COR. p. 241, mention is made of Eudicus and Simus. Now HARPOCRATION (S. v. Σίμος) describes him as one of the great house of the Aleuadae of Larissa, who invited Philip to aid them against the tyrants of Pheræ. Eudicus may have been of the

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same family, but let us see what HIEROCRATION says of him. *One of those appointed by Philip rulers of ALL Thessaly.* Εἰς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁμοῦ τῶν κατασταθέντων ὑπὸ Φιλίππου κυρίων Θεσσαλίας ἀπόσης. Now if Philip established tetrarchs in Thessaly we cannot prove that Eudicus was not one of them, but in any case a tetrarch could not be called a ruler of *all Thessaly* I have thus attempted to establish what JACOBS describes as difficult to prove, and I hope this explanation will go some way in further establishing the views of VEMEL.

Τὸν τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα. παραρήσεται.] *Or that he who restored the meeting at Pylæ would take away their revenues.* Cf. de PACE p. 63. Οἱ Θετταλοὶ. τῆς πυλαίας δ' ἐπεθύμουν καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτημάτων δυοῖν, κύριοι γενέσθαι. It is well known that there were two annual meetings of the Amphictyons, one in the autumn at Pylæ, and the other in the spring at Delphi. Now ever since the temple at Delphi had been seized by Philomelus at the outbreak of the Sacred War, the Thessalians and other enemies of Phocis had been interdicted the use of it, and the autumn meeting had been dispensed with. After the peace of 346, Philip restored this meeting, and the Thessalians were at the same time allowed to visit Delphi as formerly. Προσδίδου. On the forfeiture of these revenues to Philip see OL. I. p. 5. He still further secured them by placing a garrison at Pylæ.

Θεοπεῖρε] WOLF and SCHÆFER consider this as the Imp. mood, but I prefer ARNOLD's interpretation in the Ind. *You behold Philip as a dispenser of gifts and promises.* When he is at a distance he is all promises and suavity, for such is the force of *θεοπεῖν*, whereas ἰδεῖν implies that they are to guard against knowing him personally, from a closer union with him. For Demosthenes, and, in fact, all Greece knew his promises to each of the embassies from Phocis, Peloponnesus, Thebes, and Athens previous to the year 346, and they knew, too, his performance of them. Cf. DEM. PHIL. III. p. 117. FALS. LEG. p. 385.

Ἐν δέ τι κοινόν. φυλακτήριον.] *But the nature of sensible men possesses in itself one common safeguard.* ARISTIDES, the oratorician, praises the manner in which Demosthenes approaches this common safeguard. REISKE.

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Τοῖς πλῆθεσι.] *Democracies, same as πολιτείας supra.* Cf. HER. iii. 81.

Ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε.] *Hold firm by this.* Cf. De CORONA, 'Αντέχεσθαι τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

Οὐδὲν μὴ δεῖνὸν πάθητε.] *Verendum non est, ne malum accipiatis.* *There is no fear that you will receive an injury.* REISKÉ's reading is οὐδὲν δεῖνὸν (*nil est verendum*), μὴ τι πάθητε. Facile τι concursu cum π. potuit excidere, id quod sæpissime factum observavi.

Εἴτ' οὐχ ὀρᾶτε ἔχοντα.] *Then look not to Philip, whose very titles are most foreign to this.* Εἴτα and ἔπειτα, in expressions implying irony, reluctance, astonishment, are used to express that something unexpected results from what has gone before. JELF. 874, 6.

Βασιλεὺς ἔχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ.] *A rhetorical exaggeration, as the comparative weakness of the Kings of Sparta might show.* ARNOLD. Yet it might be strictly true of Philip, whom Demosthenes here was aiming at. Νόμοις ἐναντίος. ISOCRATES. Παρὰ νέσει: ἰσχυρότατος νόμος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως τρόπος. WOLF.

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Θορυβούντες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται.] *Declaring with shouts of applause that these things were rightly spoken.* Cf. DE REB. CHERS. p. 91. Θορυβεῖτε ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγει. Πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους. *Multasque alias orationes. Many other speeches, &c.* Παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων, *legatis, nempe, ab iis qui una cum Demosthene ad Messenios legationis fuerant, et quos Demosthenes illie reliquit prius discedens causam nobis ignotam.* AUGER.

Καὶ πάλιν ἕστερον.] *After the departure of Demosthenes, who may have had to visit other cities in Peloponnesus and elsewhere.* Ὡς ἔοικεν. VEMEL removes the comma after these words, thus connecting them with what follows, and Mr. Kennedy, in his translation, does the same; on which method of construction SMITH remarks: "This and similar parenthetical expressions with a refer, especially in the orators, to something preceding."

Παρ' ἂ ὀρᾶσι.] *In opposition to what their best reason may approve, i. e. against their convictions.* 'Αλλ' ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν. *But you, who both know yourselves, and hear from the orators, &c.*

A German oratoribus a parative igno- prided them all others.

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A German critic translates *vos ipsi, qui et ipsi intelligitis et ex oratoribus auditis*, &c. Observe the contrast between the comparative ignorance of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, who prided themselves on their knowledge, and of consequence despised all others.

Περὶστοιχίζεσθε.] Cf. PHIL. i. p. 43. The common reading is *περιτειχίζεσθε*, on which REISKE remarks: Illa significat: committitis, ut velut indagine clau limini; hæc: patimini vobis arces imponi, quæ vos in officio continent.

Ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἤδη ποιεῖν ὑπομείναντες.] *From your doing nothing now, you will unawares be brought to undergo, in my opinion, all these things.* In this passage there are various readings. SCHÆFER and HARRISON have: *ὡς ἐκ τοῦ μηδέν.* WOLF regards *ὡς* as having been incautiously added by the transcribers of the manuscripts from the two which precede. He therefore omits it, and is followed by REISKE and DINDORF. ARNOLD here reads *ὥστε μηδὲν ἤδη ποιῆσαι*, his authority being BAITER and SAUPPE's edition, who collated from the codex Σ. The weight of authority will favour *ποιῆσαι*, but for *ὥστε* no valid reason is given. ARNOLD's note is: "*ὥστε . . . ποιῆσαι.* On condition of doing nothing at present; if you may but do nothing at present; the aor. inf. to exclude any single act. (VEM. reads *ποιεῖν*.) BAITER and SAUPPE have adopted this reading from the best manuscript (Σ). There are, however, many various readings: F. and WST. read *ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ποιῆσαι*, from *having done nothing*, &c." Πάντα is opposed to μηδέν.

Ἡ παρατιχὴ ἡδονὴ μέλλοντος.] *The present ease and indulgence prevail over future advantage.* Another strong denunciation of the unwillingness of the Athenians to incur personal service.

Καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοῦς.] *By yourselves.* From this we are to understand that the orator was not prepared to state the things he would advise in the presence of the foreign ambassadors.

Ἄ δε νῦν . . . ἡδὴ λέξω.] *Quæ vero nunc respondeatis necessaria creveritis, ea scilicet dicam.* WOLF. *I will now state to you the answer which I think it is proper for you to decree.* This answer, however, is not here given, although from the words employed it

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is to be expected. Nor can we form a very accurate idea of its nature. This difficulty is variously explained by commentators, but the more rational conjecture is that the *γραμματεὺς* was here called upon by Demosthenes, to read a draft of the resolution or answer proposed. In accordance with this view I have retained with DINDORF the word *ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ*.

Τοὺς ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις] *Those who reported the promises.* The allusion seems to be to Æschines and Philocrates, and perhaps to Ctesiphon and Aristodemus the actor. What these promises were we have already stated.

Ὅτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ἂν ποτε ὑπέμεινα πρὸς βεῖν.] Demosthenes had served with great reluctance upon the embassy to Philip to obtain the oaths, and he affirms that he should not have gone if he had not promised to ransom some Athenians taken captive at Olynthus; that on this embassy he detected the treason of certain of the envoys above mentioned, and that Æschines was night and day with Philip; that he had written a letter to the Athenian people giving an account of the state of affairs; that he was prevented sending it, and that his colleagues sent a letter containing false information; that he did not desire to stay, and further, having hired a ship to convey him home, he was not allowed to depart. *FALS. LEG.* pp. 357 and 445.

Ἐπαύσαθε πολεμοῦντες.] If they had seized the pass of Thermopylæ they might have compelled him to retreat in 346 as he had previously done in 352.

Ἄλλ' ἦν λεγόμενα] *But what was then reported was very different from what has resulted.*

Τοὺς δ' ἦν λέγοντας.] *Those who declared, when I, after the peace was made, having come from the second embassy for the oaths, perceiving that the state had been deceived, both gave warning, and protested, and would not allow you to abandon Pylæ and the Phocians. Φενακίζομένην.* When the form of treaty was drawn up at Athens, the words were: that Athens and her allies made peace and alliance with Philip and his allies. *FALS. LEG.* pp. 391. This would have included the town of Halus and the Phocians; and the Macedonian envoys, Parmenio and Antipater, refused to acknowledge them. Then when Philip took the oaths

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Phœæ, they were excluded finally, and the town of Cardia, on the Hellespont, was voted an ally of Philip. By these means Philip gained Thermopylæ and the Chersonese, "two most valuable positions, *δὺδ χρησιμωτέρους τόπους*," FALS. LEG. pp. 355-395. *Æschines* and *Philocrates* are alluded to in *ἐτέρους*.

[*Ὡς ἐγὼ. ἄνθρωπος*.] *That I being a water drinker was naturally a peevish and stubborn fellow.* Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 355, where Demosthenes himself tells the story: *Ἐπαναστὰς δ' ὁ φιλοκράτης μάλα ὕβριστικῶς, οὐδὲν, ἔφη, θαυμαστὸν μὴ ταῦτὰ καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ Δημοσθένει δοκεῖν: οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶνον πίνω. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγελάτε.* "The name water drinker was used by the ancients to indicate a poor spiritless creature, incapable of anything great or generous. Hence HOR. i. *Epist.* 15. *Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt. Quae scribuntur aquae potioribus.*" JACOBS. *LIBANIUS* in his life of Demosthenes says, *ὕδωρ ἐπετῆδευε πίνειν, ἢ αἰγὴν ἡγγουρίαν μᾶλλον παρέχεται τὴν διάνοιαν.* Among the Greeks it was a proverb, *Ἵδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις καλόν.*

[*Θεσπιάς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιῶν.*] Before the battle of Leuctra, *Epaminondas* gave notice to such *Bœotians* as were unfriendly to *Thebes* to march out of the country. The *Thespians*, therefore, proceeded to *Athens*, and there found shelter. They were thus expelled from *Bœotia*, and their territory annexed to *Thebes*. PAUS. ix. 13, 3; 14, 1. *Platæa* had always been favourable to *Athens* more than to *Thebes*. The city was destroyed in 417 by the *Thebans*, and its territory annexed. But at the peace of *Antalcidas* they were again acknowledged as *autonyms*. However, certain intrigues between *Athens* and *Platæa* being detected, in 372, the *Thebans* again demolished the city, and expelled the inhabitants, who took refuge at *Athens*. DIODOR. xv. 46, 47.

[*Κεφρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέλει διορύξει.*] *And will cut through the Chersonese at his own expense.* This project is not mentioned in the *De PACE* among the conditions there enumerated, but it is noticed in the *De HALON*. The distance was only thirty-seven stadia from *Leuce Acte* to *Peleon*, and the canal would have completely insulated the *Athenian* possessions from continental *Thrace*, and prevented incursions. WOLF quotes an old oracle on this subject: *Ἴσθμὸς δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε, μήτ' ὀρύσσετε: ὁ Ζεὺς γ' ἐθήκε νῆσον, εἰ γ' ἐβούλετο.*

[Page 19.]

Καίπερ ὄντες μεμῆσθαι.] *Although not celebrated for remembering injuries.* Ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι εἰωθότες. WOLF. For a eulogy on the Athenians for their forbearance, see *De Cor.* p. 252. Καὶ τὸ πάντων ἀσχιστόν ἐψηφίσασθε] *And the most disgraceful of all is, you voted in your confidence that this peace should be binding upon your posterity.* πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας. Ironical, *ad bene sperandum.* AUGER would interpret *vana spe, vanis promissis decepti.* Ἐκγονοὶ = posteri; ἔγγονοι = nepotes. FRANKE. This certainly was short sighted policy for Athens. The basis of the treaty was that each should retain what he then had; thus effectually cutting off all hopes from Athens of ever gaining back what she claimed as her own. Cf. *FALS. LEG.* p. 358. It was Philocrates who moved that the peace should be binding upon their posterity. *FALS. LEG.* p. 356.

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Ὁὕτω τελῶς ὑπήχθητε.] *So completely were you deceived.* SCHÆFER hints that πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας ought to be inserted after τελῶς, and not as it stands, and cites as his reason p. 69, *De Pace.* Τοιοῦτας ἐλπίδας καὶ φανακισμοὺς, οἷς ἐπαχθέντες.

Ὁὐχ ἵν' εἰς λοιδόριαν ποιήσω.] *Not that, falling into invectives, I may lay myself open equally to recrimination.* On εἰς λοιδόριαν ἐμπέσω, Cf. *DEM. de Cor.* p. 248. Εἰς λόγου ἐμπέσω. I have followed AUGER, who here translates: *Ce n'est pas pour m'attirer les invectives de mes anciens adversaires, en les invectivant moi-même.* But that the opinions of others may be seen I append a few translations. *Non ut cum conviciatoribus congressus mihi quidem eundem apud vos audientium faciam.* SCHÆFER. *Not that by breaking out into invectives I may expose myself to like treatment.* LELAND. ARNOLD follows JACOBS, and translates: *Not that, by breaking out into invective, I may procure for myself as fair a hearing at your hands as they receive.* But the objection to this is, as Mr. Kennedy remarks, that he translates ἐμαντῶ λόγον ποιήσω, to *gain a hearing for myself*, which sense he says it cannot bear. The expression then would be, *λόγου τύχοιμι.* WHISTON further remarks on Arnold's interpretation, *I do not see that there is any logical meaning in it.*

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'ἵνα τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ.] That I may prate to no purpose. Cf. OL. iii. p. 84. τὴν ἄλλως λέγειν, frustra dicere. 'Ὡς ἄλλως is the reading here in some manuscripts, on which SCHAEFER remarks: 'Ὡς ἄλλως satis notabile videtur. 'Ὡς ἄλλως = temere.

'Ἄλλ' οἶμαι. . . . τὰ νυνί.] But I am confident that what Philip is doing, will one day grieve you more than it does now. τὰ νυνί = præsens rerum conditio. BREMI. τὰ νυνί = At present, now. ANKOLD. WOLF interprets, τὰ νυνί πεπαθήσιασμένα, quam ea quæ nunc a me sunt dicta liberius, τὰ νῦν γινόμενα.

Τὸ γὰρ. . . . προβαῖνον.] Nam video, rem gliscere, serpere, increbrescere, i. e., the designs of Philip against us. Τοῦτο refers to the same thing.

Μηδ' ἀκούθ'. . . . μηδὲ τοῦ δείνους.] And when you may not hear from me, nor any other, that these things are preparing against you. WOLF translates: neque ista contra vos parari et strui ex me audistis, aut alio quopiam.

Φοβοῦμαι δὴ. . . . δεδωροδοκηκότες.] I fear that your ambassadors, having been silent upon the very things for which they are conscious of having been bribed. The ambassadors more particularly referred to are Philocrates and Æschines; with perhaps Phrynon, Cleisiphon, and Iatrocles. Διὰ τούτους. By their instrumentality.

τὰ πολλὰ.] — Plerumque. Often. 'Επίους. Referring to the Athenians themselves. Sometimes, however, justice was meted out; and in this very case some of the principal actors afterwards paid the full penalty. Æschines long after retired to Rhodes on the conclusion of the trial of the Crown, and speedier justice fell to the lot of Philocrates, who was more to blame than even he. Being impeached by Hyperides, FALS. LEG. p. 376, not long after the peace, he did not stand his trial. There is no doubt he was deeply tainted with corruption. Demosthenes charges him with buying corn, building houses, importing timber, and changing gold. And further, he is accused of having an estate on the Olynthian territory, yielding him an income of a talent. FALS. LEG. pp. 376, 386. Τὴν ὄργην ἀφιέντας.] Iram effundentes. Discharge your wrath.

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ἑνίσταται.] *Is preparing.* Cf. *De Cor.* p. 245. Ἀγνοία συνισταμένου καὶ φυομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων.

Τίς δ' Ἰωκίας πέισας.] The allusion of course is to Æschines, who had incurred his displeasure by his Philo-Macedonian actions.

Ἦν καταστάς γέγονε.] *By being possessed of which, he has become possessed of the road into Attica and the Peloponnesus.* The possession of this pass was always regarded as the key of central Greece and the Peloponnesus. This and Elateia were now in the power of Philip, and, holding them, he could at any time enter the Grecian states from Thessaly.

Τῶν δικαίων.] WOLF inserts Ἑλληνικῶν, which is received by many commentators, but rejected by others. The allusion here must be to the rights assured by the peace to all the Greeks; whereas if Ἑλληνικῶν be inserted it will refer to the general hegemony of the Greeks. Τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων. The affairs of the allies of Greece, and her foreign possessions.

Ἐν ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.] The day of the peace, June 13th, B.C. 346. Some, from PHIL. iii. p. 115, Ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνείλε Φωκίας κ.τ.λ., would refer the commencement of the war to his seizure of the Phocians, but it is more spirited to refer it to *that day*, which Demosthenes had vainly tried to postpone indefinitely.

Εἰ γὰρ μὴ πρᾶγμα.] *For if you had not then been duped there would be no difficulty to the city (now).* REISKE has added οὖν in the last clause, which seems to be the correct reading, from the contrast afforded by τότε in the previous clause.

Ὅτε γὰρ ναυσι κρατήσας.] *For certainly he would not have gained a victory by his fleet, &c.* The Athenians were far superior to him in naval affairs and in the equipments for a fleet. Cf. *FALLA LEG.* p. 389. Ὅτε γὰρ κατὰ γῆν παρελθὼν οὐκ εὖ νηυσὶ κρατήσας ἐπέστη τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἤξειν ἔμελλε.

Ἦν παραχρῆμ' ἀν ἦν ἐπεθύμησεν.] *Or he would forthwith have been involved in such a war as that which made him desire peace.* This of course is mere rhetorical flourish. Philip's idea of peace was to gain quiet possession of Thermopylæ; the war gave him very little anxiety.

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Ὅς μὲν ὑπομῆσαι.] JELF. 863 Ὅς δ' ἂν μὴ γένοιτο.]
WOLF translates *absit autem, idque cœi omnes prohibeant, ne ex-
periendo certissime comprobentur*. Translate: *May it never be
that these things may be fully proven by what may result*. Cf.

JELF. 810. Also, "ARIST. AV. 1338, γενοίμαν αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτας, ὡς
ἂν παταθῆην, i.e., *ut, si forte, volem, ut volare possim*." FRANKE.
Ὅδ' εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ' ἀπολωλέναι.] *Non etiam si dignus est quis
pereat. Not even if he deserved to perish*. Cf. DEM. contra MEND.
p. 518. Ὅδ' δίκαιος ὦν ἀπολωλέναι.

Δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.] *To stand his trial*. Cf. HER. ii. 118, Καὶ
οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν. Also DEM. c. ARISTOC. p. 637.
Ὅδ' δίκην ὑπέχειν ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν δίκαιός εἰμι.

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INTRODUCTION
TO THE
THIRD PHILIPPIC.

In the Archonship of Sosigenes, B. C. 342-1, (OL. 109, 3,) Demosthenes delivered two of his most celebrated orations against Philip. The first of these was the oration *On the Affairs of the Chersonese*, delivered, according to DION. HALICARN., in the winter of that year. The second was the one more immediately concerning us, and is known as the THIRD PHILIPPIC. This oration, styled by DION. HALICARN. τὴν μεγίστην τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν, was delivered a few weeks after the *De REB. CHERS.*, and is properly speaking no more than a continuation of the line of argument adopted there. It has come down to us in two different shapes, one much shorter than the other. The shorter form is given in the Codex Parisinus Σ., omitting many passages; and even in it these are written by a different hand in the margin. All other manuscripts have the oration as given in the editions of Demosthenes. Some commentators also would place this oration in the earlier part of the year, before the oration on the Chersonese. On this subject, however, consult DINDORF, *Annot.* vol. v. p. 158. The precise circumstances which led to the delivery of this oration are not known to us, but we can easily form

a conjecture. Philip was engaged in Thrace strengthening and extending his empire at the expense of the princes of that country. He had written a letter requiring the Athenians to recall their general, Diopithes, and notwithstanding all the exertions of the paid orators, the Athenians not only refused to interfere with him, but it appears were likely to send him effectual succour. Philip was not the man to put up with such a state of affairs, and he probably was now attempting to strike a first blow before the expected aid should arrive, and Diopithes thus be further enabled to harass him and maltreat his Thracian allies and possessions. WINIEWSKI hazards a conjecture that an embassy from Chersonese had arrived in consequence of Philip's aggressions, to complain of him, and ask aid and pecuniary assistance, and WHISTON also concurs in this view. But we gain no such information from the oration itself, and although it is probable, still it is not to be received as a fact. All that the oration itself shows, is that the Athenians must now adopt a more vigorous policy, anticipate the king in his forward march against Byzantium, and approve themselves worthy of the high name handed down to them from their ancestors. At the same time we must remember that he was now addressing his countrymen to incite them to attempt an undertaking no less glorious than dangerous. Philip had gone on extending his power ever since the peace of 346, and nearly every one of his conquests had been at the expense of Athens. She was thus reduced in strength, and he in a like ratio increased. Demosthenes urges them to war, cautiously, it is true, yet his words must have stirred the heart of even the dullest hearer, reminding them as he does of what they

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Thrace strengthen the expense of the written letter general, Diopithes, of the paid orators, interfere with him, effectual succour. with such a state of attempting to strike a should arrive, and to harass him and sessions. WINIEW- assy from Cherso- Philip's aggressions, pecuniary assist- this view. But oration itself, and to be received as a is that the Athe- policy, anticipate Byzantium, and ap- ame handed down ame time we must his countrymen to ; no less glorious tending his power every one of his thens. She was e ratio increased iously, it is true heart of even hi- too, had lately obtained some considerable power. Yet oes of what the neither Athenian, Spartan, nor Theban had been allowed

once were and what they now are. His invectives against the time-serving policy of the venal statesmen are most withering, and his strong appeals to the Athenians, enforced by the examples of Olynthus, Oreus and Eretria, are calculated even yet to rouse the mind. How much more must it have inflamed those whose interests are thus vividly painted. He introduces his remarks by inveighing against the fatal character of their politics, which was to hear with applause the flatterer and the courtier, but to banish even the semblance of free speech and solid advice. He shows that Philip under the guise of *peace* has ruined Phocis, and the other places above mentioned, and warns them that his policy is the same towards themselves. Not only is this the case, but he will not declare war against them if under the garb of peace he can as well succeed in his designs. Then giving his hearers the full details of the king's actions, he boldly asks :—Is this the act of a man who is keeping the peace towards you? Nay, rather, is he not even planting his engines against your walls, and has he not been doing so since the day he destroyed the Phocians? This, then, was not the time for deliberating about the safety of the Chersonese or Byzantium alone, but you must so make up your minds, that if such acts continue, the safety of Greece is at stake, and the period is approaching when the Macedonian must rule over the free constitution of Athens. But the orator does not stop here. He reminds them that for seventy years they had enjoyed absolute sway over the Greeks, that Sparta had governed for twenty-nine years, and that Thebes, had lately obtained some considerable power. Yet neither Athenian, Spartan, nor Theban had been allowed

such impunity as was conceded to Philip. Things which formerly would have aroused a Hellenic war are now endured quite passively, and Philip in consequence has done more injury in his thirteen years of control than was ever inflicted upon Greece by any of her own sons. And yet Philip is no Greek, and in no way allied to Greece; he is not even a barbarian of illustrious origin, but a poor, miserable Macedonian, born in a country whence a decent slave could not be procured. What then, is the cause of all this? For not without cause have such things happened. He reminds them that there was something *then* inherent among them, which was so no longer, something which despised the gold of the Persian, and kept Greece free and untrammelled by land and sea. Nor was this anything which existed once and could not now be obtained. It was nothing but a firm administration of the laws and a determination to punish the guilty; and to show them that venal and traitorous conduct was not *then* applauded as now, he cites for them the decree against Arthmius of Zelea, who was not a Greek, yet was adjudged by *them* an outlaw for bringing Persian gold into Greece. He then advances upon ground quite different from that taken by him some years before. Hitherto we find no acknowledgment of the superior power of Philip; on the contrary he always spoke of him as an enemy not much to be feared. But now he regards him as far more powerful than ever Lacedæmon was. And this arises not only from his superior force but also from his tactics, which have completely changed since first he contended with them. He now makes no difference between summer and winter, and they must accordingly be prepared to

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meet the change in this respect, and oppose him by force wherever he presents himself. But there was something more to be done. Intestine enemies must be made to feel the hand of the law; and to convince them of the danger of fostering traitors, he again enters more fully into the political events of the last few years as exhibited in Olynthus, Eretria, and Oreus. A remarkable contrast is then drawn between the orator who speaks to please and the statesman who counsels for the interests of his country, and the oration concludes by recalling a picture fondly loved by every patriot, the former glory of his country, and the assurance that only from Athens could safety come; and finally that they must not suffer the honourable distinction of "defenders of Greece," handed down to them through many and great dangers, to slip from their fingers.

Such in substance is this celebrated oration, and from the subsequent course of events, we see that it was not spoken in vain. An unusual energy was infused into the Athenians. In Eubœa, Phocion expelled Philistides and his Macedonian garrison. Oreus and Eretria were liberated. But he did not stop here; he extended his conquests further, and attacked some of Philip's stations on the Pagasæan Gulf, and captured some towns in alliance with Macedon. In the subsequent year also, when Philip attacked Byzantium and Perinthus, the exertions of Demosthenes were successful in rescuing them from his power. It is pleasing to see that just before the final setting of the sun of Greece a few bright rays shot forth, soon to be extinguished on the fatal field of Cheronæa.

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NOTES
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Πολλῶν λόγων. . . . ἐκκλησίαν.] *Although many speeches have been made at almost every assembly.* Ὀλίγου δεῖν = Σχέδον. *Pæne.* Cf. JELF. 864. Ἄφ' οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποίησατο. *Ex quo pacem fecit.* Since he made the peace. This was in *Ol.* 108, 2, B. C. 346. To this period the following orations of Demosthenes are to be referred: *De PACE* 346-5; *PHIL.* ii. 344-3; *De HALONESO*, 343-2; *De FALSA LEGATIONE*, 343-2; *De CHERSONESO*, 343-2; and *Æschines cont. TIMARCH.* 346-5; *De FALSA LEGATIONE*, 343-2. We may be sure that many others were made, whose authors or names can never be known.

Καὶ πάντων ἐδ' οἶδ' ὅτι φησάντων γ' ἔν.] *Et cum satis sciam, neminem negare posse.* WOLF. *And I know well that all would say, &c.* Γέ = *saltem.* Εἶδ is omitted by DINDORF, REISKE, and BEKKER. But REISKE in his note to πολλῶν κ.τ.λ., at the commencement of the oration, has supplied a quotation from Aristides which contains it. SPENGLER has also shown that DION. HAL. quotes the passage with ἐδ, and this of itself would seem to be conclusive evidence for its insertion. Εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιῶσι τοῦτο. *Even if they do not do so.* ARNOLD well remarks that ποιεῖν, like our *do*, is used as the representative of the preceding verb.

Καὶ λέγειν δεῖν, καὶ πράττειν.] Nearly all the manuscripts have, after πράττειν, ἅπασι προσήκειν, which BEKKER altered to ἅ πᾶσι προσήκει, the reading of SCHÆFER. But on this SPENGLER remarks, that to retain both δεῖν and προσήκειν is contrary to the custom

[Page 21.]

of the orator. The reading of DINDORF is retained here, which is confirmed by codex Σ. *That they ought to speak and act.*

Εἰς τοῦθ' ὑπηγμένα. . . . ὀρῶ.] *All our affairs have been so neglected, and confused through inattention, &c.* The verb ὑπάγειν, among its secondary meanings, has that of *lecting one on by deceit and cunning* (Lat. *inducere*), as in DEM. *De Pace*, p. 59. Ἐλπιδας καὶ φενακισμοὺς, οἷς ὑπαχθέντες ὑμεῖς. Here it refers to the influence of evil counsels in drawing away the minds of the Athenians from the true state of affairs. Προειμένα, *per incuriam prolapsa*. WOLF.

Εἰ καὶ λέγειν. . . . χειροτονεῖν ὑμᾶς] *If all the orators wished to advise, and you to resolve, &c.* There is a difference between εἰ καὶ and καὶ εἰ. In εἰ καὶ, although, καὶ belongs to the sentence, and allows something which does or will really exist, or has existed; in καὶ εἰ, even if, καὶ belongs to εἰ, and not to the sentence; allowing a supposed case, which does not exist, and in many cases is impossible. JELF. 861. After χειροτονεῖν, sc. ταῦτα. Ἐξ ὧν ὡς. . . . ἔξειν. *On account of which our affairs would probably be in the worst possible condition.*

Οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι. . . . διατεθῆναι.] *They could not be in a worse state than they are now.* Ἀντὰ διατεθῆναι is the reading in many manuscripts.

Καὶ οὐ παρ' ἓν, οὐδὲ δύο.] *Et neque per unum neque per duo.* Παρὰ in such expressions signifies coexistence, coincidence, and implies that while one set of causes is progressing another is keeping parallel with them. Cf. *De Pace* p. 57. Παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἢν οἷδ' ἐγώ. *De Reb. Chers.* p. 109. Παρὰ πάντα ταῦτα. PHIL. i. p. 43. Παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. SCHAEFER translates *ob unam alteramve causam*.

[Page 22]

Ἄνπερ ἐξετάζητε ὀρθῶς.] *If you properly inquire into the matter.*

Διὰ τοὺς. . . . προαιρουμένους.] *From those who prefer to speak for your pleasure rather than your advantage.* Χαρίζεσθαι, SMEAD properly remarks, is equivalent to πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν.

Καὶ δύνανται.] Here equivalent to δύναντοί εἰσιν. SCHAEFER. In this sense Demosthenes frequently uses the verb δύνασθαι. Other writers also use it in a similar way; as in EUR. *Orest.* 879,

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he verb δύνασθαι.
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and 887. *Ὅς ἂν δύνηται πόλεος. In MED. 128, it is equivalent to
ἰσχύει, σθένει.—Τὰ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντ' οὐδένα καιρὸν δύναται θνατοῖς.

Ὅκουν οὐδ' δεῖν ἔχειν.] And therefore think you ought to
have none. BEKKER and DINDORF here read οὐκοῦν. "But some
manuscripts have οὐκουν, and as Rüdiger observes, 'duplex ne-
gatio huic loco bene convenit.'" WHISTON. Οὐκουν = Non ergo,
οὐκοῦν = Ergo. A distinction, which ELMSLEY, ad HERACL. v. 256,
remarks is most true, if the writings of Plutarch and Lucian be
received as the rule of true Greek. But he further remarks that
among the old Attic writers each particle preserves its own pro-
per signification, and he writes the latter οὐκ οὖν, adding or
omitting the interrogation, as the case requires.

Τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας.] Practical statesmen. KENNEDY.
The force of ἐπὶ in such constructions is, to be placed over any-
thing, to manage or protect it. DEM. p. 928. Πλευσιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ
τοῖς χρήμασι. Cf. DEM. OL. ii. p. 21, "ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν,
and De COR. p. 309. Διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.

Οὐδὲν ἄλλο δίκην λήσεται.] Id agunt, ut civit.: de se
penas sumat. Do nothing else than make the city inflict punish-
ment upon itself, i. e. upon its own citizens.

Kal pepi tout' ἔσται.] And will busy her in such occupations.
Εἶναι περὶ τι has this meaning in Greek. More rarely ἔχειν περὶ
τι, as in HER. viii. 85. Περὶ μὲν νῦν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε.

Αἰ δὲ τοιοῦται εἰσιν ὑμῖν.] Now politics of this sort are
usual with you. BREMI says that the plural here indicates that
such a system had been preserved for a long time. RÜDIGER
refers 't to the different political factions mentioned before. But
ARNOLD in my opinion gives the correct force. He says "this is
another instance of the plural of an abstract noun, denoting par-
ticular instances and manifestations of the abstract notion. Cf.
De REB. CHERS. p. 107. Καὶ τοιοῦτας ἄλλας φιλανθρωπίας."

'Ὡδε.] A strengthened form of ὅδε. It never occurs in tragedy.
'Ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων] In ceteris quidem rebus. On other sub-
jects. SMEAD here quotes BREMI: In democratiis, stultitia est
cujusquam os occludere velle. Quo magis operam das, eo major
erit licentia loquendi et vituperandi.

"Ὡστε καὶ αὐτῆς μεταδεδώκατε.] Αὐτῆς = τῆς παρθρίας.

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[Page 22.]
 *Ἡ πολίτας ἐν ἐνείαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων.] "The Athenians piqued
 themselves upon being the most independent and most humane of
 all people." TOURREIL.

*Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐξεληλάκετε.] *But from your deliberative as-*
semblies you have altogether banished it. This passage derives
 much illustration from the articles παρανόμων γραφή, νομοθέται,
 and θεσμοθέται, in the DICT. ANT.

Τρυφᾶν ἀκούουσιν.] *Hearing yourselves puffed up, and*
flattered in all things for your pleasure, &c. Τοῖς πράγμασι = The
affairs of state; Τοῖς γιγνομένοις = the events of the time. SCHÆFER.
 Περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύειν = "res meæ in extremum discri-
 men deductæ sunt. *Are in the very extremity of peril.* The words,
 from ἐν μὲν τοῖς to κινδυνεύειν, are repeated without variation from
 De REB. CHERS. p. 98.

Εἰ μὲν δικάισθε.] *Si hæc vobis cordi sunt. WOLF. If*
therefore even now you are so determined. "Ἐτοιμος sc. εἰμι. Οὐκ
ἔχω τί λέγω. I have nothing to say. "Ἐχω here and in many other
places denotes calleo, scio, from its original meaning of habeo,
teneo, possideo. So. PLATO de REP. ii. Οὐκ ἔχω ὅτι λέγω ἐν τῷ
παρόντι. The original meaning of ἔχω, however, will apply here
and in other places where it seems to mean calleo. BRAS

Κὰ γὰρ εἰ.] *Etsi enim. "Ὅμως ἔστιν ἐπανορθώσασθαι.*
Still it is possible, if you wish to do your duty, even yet to rectify
all these things. Some of the manuscripts here read βούλησθ'
ἔτι πάντες κ.τ.λ. Si vos omnes velitis factu necessaria facere.
 But ἔτι is then superfluous.

Τὸ χεῖριστον κ.τ.λ.] *Simillima legimus, PHIL. i. p. 40. Quales*
locos inter se diligenter comparabis, ut discas quomodo orator sua
repetat. Multum diversa ratione simiæ oratoris Demosthenica
suffurati centones suos consuunt. SCHÆFER.

Ἦν ἄ.] These words at the beginning of a sentence are equi-
 valent to the Latin *nunc, nunc autem, quæ cum ita sint*, as in EUR.
 Ἦν ἄ. IL. 1, 27.

Ἦς ῥαθυμίας κερράτηκεν.] *Philip has overcome your sloth-*
fulness and carelessness, but he has not subdued the state.

[Page 23.]

Οὐδέ.] This repetition of the negative is intended with ἄλλο to give a very strong meaning to the clause. *Nay you have not even yet bestirred yourselves.* Negatives are thus repeated frequently both in the orators and poets. Cf. *De LIB. CHERS.* p. 98. Οὐδ' ἂν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων γένηται κύριος, οὐδὲν ἔστ' αὐτῷ βεβαίως ἔχειν. *PHIL.* iii. p. 119. From the poets the following are given. *SOPH. ANT.* 56. *ÆSCH. AGAM.* 1645. *EUM.* 807. Wolf translates the present passage: *Immo ne loco quidem moti estis.*

Οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔδει συμβουλεύειν.] *There is nothing for the orator to say and advise.* ἔδει is one of those imperfects to which ἂν need not be added in hypothetical enunciations. The construction is more emphatic without it. *SCHÆFER.*

Πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος ἀδικούντος.] *While he is capturing cities, and retaining many of your possessions, and assailing all people.* The cities captured were in Thrace; the possessions retained, Amphipolis and the early conquests of the war; and the assaults are to be referred to his intrigues in Greece and among the Thracian people.

Ἄνεχθεσθαι τινῶν λεγόντων πολλάκις.] *To lend themselves to certain parties who frequently declare in the assemblies.* Ἄνεχθεσθαι is not often construed with the genitive. Examples can be given, but the accusative, as in *XEN. ANAB.* i. 8, 11, τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνεχθεσθαι, is the more usual construction. *PLAT. APOL.* 31, B. Ἄνεχθεσθαι τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελουμένων. *SMEAD* also quotes *XEN. HELLEN.* vi. 5. τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἠλείχοντο. The reference is to partisans of Philip who were continually asserting that any one who moved defensive measures was guilty of declaring war.

Ἀνάγκη περὶ τούτου.] *Cautione vehementer est opus, et hoc recte constituatur.* *WOLF.* It is proper you should be on your guard and be set right on this matter. *RÜDIGER* would apply these words to Philip. But I see no reason why it should rather refer to the correction of the erroneous opinion, than to one who was desirous of declaring war. And his subsequent remarks confirm this view.

Μὴ ποθ' ὡς τὸν πόλεμον.] *Lest some one having and advised, that we defend ourselves, may incur the imputation*

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having been the author of war. Any citizen at Athens was at liberty to make a motion in the popular assembly to pass a new law or to amend an old one. But he was amenable for it for the space of one year, and any citizen could institute a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against him if it was found that this law was inconsistent with other laws in force or with the public interest. DEM. c. THUC. pp. 710, 711. If he was convicted the law became void, and he was liable to such punishment as the judges might decree. Any one convicted thrice for such an offence lost the power of proposing laws in future. The Thesmothetæ had cognizance of the case. The object of all this was to check hasty legislation, and we thus see that Demosthenes is here right in endeavouring to ward off from himself, or any citizen, the possible penalty of proposing an unconstitutional measure.

Διορίζομαι.] WOLF, on *διορθοῦσθαι* supra, remarks: Quod hic *διορθοῦσθαι*, paulo post. *διορίζεσθαι*, *distinguere*, dicit. 'Ἐφ' ἡμῖν. In our power. Cf. DE REB. CHERS. p. 90. 'Ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶ ὅταν βούλησθε κολάζειν. Contra LEPT. p. 491. Τὰ μὲν τότε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε θεσι, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν.

'Ἐξεστὶ.] From a consideration of outward circumstances. 'Ἐστὶ, from circumstances under our own control. Καὶ τὸν ταῦτα . . . ἀξιώ, and I call upon him who affirms these things (that we have peace) to move a resolution, and bring forward some measure, and not deceive us. WOLF remarks: Sententia est: proditores quidem dicere et simulare, pacem esse; sed non ea decernere et agere, quæ ad veram pacem pertineant.

Ἐὶ δὲ ἔτερος.] "Aristides the grammarian refers this word to Philip, and says there is something exquisite and noble, *σεμνότης*, contained in it. But the orator speaks generally. However the grammarians everywhere see things which would escape the eyes of Lynceus." SCHÆFER.

Τὸνομα μὲν προβάλλει.] Amuses you with the name of pretence. "Ὄνομα and ἔργον are frequently contrasted, the former thus signifying a mere pretence, the latter the reality. Cf. PHEN. 512; OREST. 445; HIPPOCR. 502. HARPOCRATION, s. γ. *προβάλλειν*, says: *προβάλλειν τι ὄνομα*, signifies to make promises with the intention of deceiving. And to prove this we need only refer to the

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actions of Philip previous to his entry at Thermopylæ in 346. He there wrote two letters, one immediately after the other, inviting the Athenians to come and aid him against the Phocians. FALA. LIG. p 357. Now under the then present circumstances he could have had no other idea than that of gaining time, and thus deceiving the Athenians, who might have been induced, if it had not been for these very letters, to send Athenian troops to occupy Thermopylæ as Demosthenes advised. The common reading here is *προβάλλεται*. The distinction is: "*προβάλλει, projicit, protendit, quo vos securos consopiat; προβάλλεται, quo se adversus vos tueatur.*" FBANKE.

Φάσκειν δὲ οὐ διαφέρομαι] *But say that you keep the peace, if you wish, as he does, I care not for that, i. e. Go on acquiring towns and possessions for yourselves at his expense, and call that keeping the peace, if you wish. Φάσκειν, dictitare, say as often as you will. Οὐ διαφέρομαι, nil curo, haud intercedo, meū nil referi.* REISKE.

Ταύτην εἰρήνην.] The article is omitted to show that the meaning is general. On the omission of the copula *εἶναι* here consult JELF. 376.

Ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦξει.] *He will come against us.* A constant theme of the warnings of Demosthenes. And it is strange, considering the loss which must have fallen upon them in case of an invasion of Attica, that the Athenians did not bestir themselves more.

Ἐπειτα ἐκείνω παρ' ὑμῶν λέγει.] *And then, he speaks of a peace observed by you towards him, not by him towards you.* Some editions have *ἀγειν λέγει* here, which WOLF changed to *εἶναι* by conjecture, a reading adopted by AUGER.

Ὅ τῶν ἀνεῖται.] *What Philip purchases by all the money he expends τῶν ἀναλισκωμένων χρημάτων.* Genitive of price. JELF. 519. Cf. HER. v. 6. *Ὀνέονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων.*

Ἐφ' ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσθαι.] *And still avoid being attacked by you.*

Καὶ μὴν.] *Et vero.* JELF. 728. *Μέχρι τούτου = Until he declare war.*

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[Page 23.]
Οὐδὲ γὰρ. . . . τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ.] For neither will he say this, even if
advancing against Attica, and entering the Piræus. Τὸν Πειραιᾶ.
One of the ports of Athens, the others being Munychia and Pha-
lerum. These were connected with the city by means of the long
walls built under the administration of Pericles. Themistocles
had surrounded the ports by a wall. The entire circuit of these
walls was one hundred and seventy-four and a-half stadia. The
long walls (τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχην) were three in number, one on the east
to Phalerum, thirty-five stadia long, another on the west to the
Piræus, about forty stadia, and the third parallel to the last, lead-
ing to the same place. These last were known as the long walls,
the one to Phalerum being usually called τὸ Φαληρικὸν τεῖχος.

Πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους.] Towards the others, i. e. those whom he
subsequently proceeds to enumerate: the Olynthians and Pho-
cians.

[Page 24.]

Τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως στάδια.] "After Philip had
captured the thirty-two Chalcidic cities, he marched against
Olynthus itself. On arriving within forty furlongs of the city,
he sent to the inhabitants a peremptory summons, intimating
that either they must evacuate the city, or he must leave Mace-
donia." GROTE, chap. lxxxviii.

Δυοῖν θάτερον.] BREMI refers to De COR. p. 274: Καίτοι δυοῖν
αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ . . . ἐγκαλεῖν, ἢ . . . μὴ φέρειν, and states
that after θάτερον the verb ποιεῖν is to be supplied. But SCHÆFER
does not approve of this, and also dissents from those who would
make it the accusative absolute. But he would be content with
a nominative absolute, and considers it as one of those formulæ
which are inserted in the oration, yet have a loose syntactical
connection with it. He therefore supplies no verb. But his
illustration in German, *eins von beiden*, does not happen to apply
in English, and therefore I am inclined to adopt BREMI's opinion,
and supply ποιεῖν.

Πάντα τὸν ἕλλον χρόνον.] Accusative of time. JELF, 577.
The period alluded to is that between midsummer, B C. 350, and
the commencement of the siege of Olynthus, during which time
he had conquered and destroyed the whole of the Chalcidic

[Page 24.]

towns. And what is here related of Olynthus may have been equally true in the case of Stagira, Torone, Apollonia, and the rest. Capturing them in detail, he kept assuring his next victims that his designs were favourable to them. Αιτίσασαιτο governs two accusatives, αὐτῶν and τι τοιοῦτον. Cf. DEM. COR. p. 250. Ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιάται ἐμὲ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

Τοῦτο δέ.] In connection with τοῦτο μὲν, supra, is to be translated *and then again*.

Ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους.] At page 54, we have ὡς βασιλέα; and again, in *De REB. CHERS.* p. 98, Πέμπετε ὡς ἡμᾶς—πρέσβεις. Ὡς in both these instances is a preposition. But in the present instance it is not so, but merely expresses a supposition, and is equivalent to *as if*. Cf. THUC. vi. 61. Ἀπέπλεον μετὰ τῆς Σαλαμίνιας ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ὡς ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. XEN. ANAB. iv. 3, 11. Φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ. Cf. JNEF. 626.

Καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκίων ἦσαν. . . . πορευομένῳ.] *And there were envoys of the Phocians who accompanied him on his march*, i.e., in B.C. 346, when he was marching southward from Pella to Pheræ, before he had taken the oaths. I quite agree with GROTE that the reference in this passage, and also what follows as far as πᾶροδον, refers to the same period of time.

Καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἤριζον πολλοί.] *And many with us contended.* FRANKÉ here reads *οἱ πολλοί*, and is followed by SMEAD, who translates, *the populace maintained*, and quotes FRANKÉ'S remark, *vulgus cui proditorem turba verba dederat*. But here, I contend, they are wrong. Πολλοί does not allude to the populace at Athens in any way, but to the ambassadors who accompanied Philip in this celebrated march, among whom were the ten Athenians, and besides ambassadors from Thessaly, Thebes, Phocis, and Sparta, all contending to gain Philip's favour and alliance. The words παρ' ἡμῖν will then refer to Philip's court of envoys who attended the great Sphinx, and endeavoured to determine his ultimate policy, or in whose favour he acted. Further than this, the treaty had not been signed; the ambassadors had not returned; the people could know nothing about it, and could hardly determine whether the result would be favourable to Thebes or not.

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[Page 24.] *Θηβαίους οὐ τὴν ἐκείνου πρόβον.]* That his approach would not benefit the Thebans. Here, again, the allusion is to the sentiments of the ambassadors with Philip. We see a few lines above that he was marching forward avowedly as the ally of Phocis. So firmly convinced were even the Theban envoys of this, that at one time they became alarmed; and well they might, for some of Philip's officers expressly declared that his purpose was to conquer Thebes and restore the Boeotian towns of Thespiæ and Plataea. ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 46. What could be more likely than that this language should be interpreted by the ambassadors to mean what it really was not intended to do, since the purpose was all along to pit the one against the other, and gain time to arrive at Thermopylæ?

[Πρώην.] This was in the year of the peace. He garrisoned this city because it was the most disaffected to him of all in Thessaly. Cf. FALS. LEG. p. 424. From the language there employed we may conjecture that Pheræ was one of those cities whose citadels were occupied by him.

ἔχει καταλαβών.] Having seized it, he continues to hold it. ἔχει with the participle is thus used to denote the continuance of the action when already commenced. In Latin, a similar power is possessed by *habere*, and a passive participle in the accusative. Cf. for example DEM. c. APHOB. p. 818. Τὴν μὲν τοίνυν προῖκα ἔχει λαβών. EUR. MED. 33, 89; HEC. 999; ANT. 1045; and CÆD. REX. 567. CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. i. 44: Id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios *compertum habere*.

Ἄρπειτρας.] Oreus was a town in the northern part of Eubœa, and nearly opposite the Pagasæan gulf. Its position made it an important place to hold, and it had been under the Athenian dominion at various times since the Persian wars. The events here related had taken place the very year in which this oration was delivered. Ἐπισκεψομένους . . . εὐνοίαν. That he had sent his soldiers to visit them out of kindness. "Since ἐπισκέπτεσθαι is said of those who visit the sick, the ridicule upon the inhabitants of Oreus is here very bitter. But this was Philip's manner, to speak blandly, and cavil in words until he was sure of his prey." BREMI.

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Ἦς νοσοῦσι.] Philip had used these words to apply to the diseased Oreitans, and Demosthenes completes the metaphor by using ἐπισκέπτεσθαι, to visit, as a physician visits his patients. Καὶ στασιάζουσιν is intended as explanatory of νοσοῦσι. FRANK

Ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς παρῆναι.] To be at hand to help them in such difficulties. The events here alluded to are involved in much obscurity. They all took place in 342-1, and are briefly as follows: The party favourable to Philip was led by Philistides the tyrant, who was supported by Philip. He persuaded them to imprison Euphræus of Oreus, the leader of the opposing party, as a disturber of the public peace. Philistides then introduced a body of Macedonian troops, and thus became confirmed in his power—the city at the same time, as a matter of course, revolting from the confederacy of Athenian cities in Eubœa, which had been formed subsequently to the battle of Tamynæ. ÆSCH. C. CTES. pp. 67, 68. Euphræus poisoned himself in prison.

Ἀτόν.] Accusative before αἰρεῖσθαι. That he would prefer to deceive those who, &c. Μὴ παθεῖν . . . ἂν ἴσως. But they might, perhaps, have guarded against receiving an injury. Προλέγουσιν βιάζεσθαι. Warn them of his attack.

Καὶ ταῦθ' ἔως.] And that, too, whilst, or as long as. Οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. Sane, non ita est. In very truth, not so.

Τῶν ἀδικουμένων αὐτῷ.] JELF. 541. When the subject of the participle is not the same as that of the verb, the participle and its subject are usually in the genitive absolute. De REB. CHERS. p. 94. Διαβαλλόντων τινῶν καὶ κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι. Translate: Whilst you, who are suffering the injury, make no complaint against him.

Ἄλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων.] These words are probably an allusion to Diopithes, on whose behalf the oration De REB. CHERS. was delivered. He was reviled by the partisans of Philip and accused of breaking the peace of 346, by his actions in Thrace and the Chersonese. Ἰμῶν αὐτῶν depends in construction on τινὰς.

Καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀφέλοιτο.] And should remove those pretexes from his hirelings, &c. The orators at Athens in the presence of Philip, such as Æschines and Demades. Ἀφαιρεῖν is more

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usually joined with a double accusative, IL. i. 182. or with the Acc. and Dat. OD. i. 9, seldom, as here, with an accusative of the thing and genitive of person. But cf. XEN. HELLEN. iii. 1, 7, 'Αφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν.

Ὅς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς.] *With which they put you off.* Cf. DE REB. CHERS. p. 102. Καὶ τοιοῦτους λόγους οἷς ἀναβάλλουσι ὑμᾶς.

WOLF explains ἀναβάλλειν by ὀκνεῖν καὶ ἀναδέεσθαι καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὑπερίζειν. The word is used by XEN. of a horse throwing his rider. 'Αναβάλλειν τὸν ἀναβάτην. Hence, probably, is derived the meaning it has here, of *putting off*.

'Ἔστιν. . . . ὅστις.] These words are used to denote *any body*, or *some indefinite person*. Cf. XEN. AN. i. viii. 'Ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ καταλήθη ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ.

Μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων.] Prepositions are usually repeated before every noun, and it is rare to find one omitted in disjunctive sentences. JELF. 650, 1, 4. Something similar occurs frequently in tragedy; in compound verbs, the second one usually drops the preposition. EUR. HER. 167. 'Ἀπωλέσας' ὠλέσας'. OREST. 180. Διοιχόμεθ' οἰχόμεθα. ALCEST. 400. 'Ἐπάκουσον, ἄκουσον. It may be remarked that all these examples are from choral odes.

Οὐδεὶς δὴ που.] *Nemo scilicet. Nobody I ween.* 'Ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας. *The peace having now been concluded.* This must refer to the settlement of the preliminaries at Athens by Antipater and Parmenio and the Athenians, which was nearly three months before Philip took the oaths at Pheræ. The peace was voted by the Athenian people, Elaphebolion, 19th March, 346, and ratified on the 28th. Philip, however, did not take the oaths until Scirophorion, June 15th, 346.

Ὅπως Διοπίθους στρατηγούντος.] We cannot determine the exact date of the appointment of Diopithes to the command, but we learn (from DE REB. CHERS. p. 91) that it was after the conditions of the peace had been agreed upon, when he and a body of settlers had been sent out from Athens unprovided with pay (p. 95), and that, in order to support himself, he made attacks upon Cardia, an ally of Philip. The king sent forces to the aid of the Cardians, and Diopithes defeated them, and carried his

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incursions into maritime Thrace. Philip now sent envoys and a letter to Athens threatening to overrun the Chersonese unless Diopithes were restrained in his warlike efforts; but meantime the king was pushing his conquests against the Thracian princes. EPIST. PHIL. DEM. p. 161. This led to complaints against Diopithes, whom Demosthenes defends in the *De REB. CHERS.*

Οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων. . . . ἀπεσταλμένων.] *Nor were those troops yet in Chersonesus who have lately been sent, i. e. the mercenaries who accompanied Diopithes, about whom much was then said at Athens.*

Σέρβρειον.] A promontory of Thrace and a town of the same name near Doriscus. This latter place was situated in a great plain near the river Hebrus. HER. vii. 59. Ἱεροῦ ὄρους. A fort near the last two towns. The day after the peace had been ratified at Athens (Elaphebolion 28) a despatch came from Chares informing the Athenians that Philip had captured the Sacred Mount, and other important places in Thrace, and had deprived Cersobleptes of the greater part of his kingdom. ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 40.

Οὓς δ. . . . ἐγκατέστησαν.] *Whom your own general had stationed there.* This was Chares, who was acting in Thrace in conjunction with Cersobleptes, whom he assisted by means of the fleet under his command.

Καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων, τί ἐποίει;] *And yet in acting thus what was he in reality doing?* Subaudi εἰ μὴ ἐπολέμει. *Quid aliud faciebat, si non bellabat?* REISKE.

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Εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὠμωμόκει.] *For he had sworn to the peace.* This must be taken with some latitude. The facts were these: The peace was on the basis of *uli possidetis*, from the day upon which it was sworn to at Athens. Now as we said above, this was Elaphebolion 28th, at which time a decree also passed that the ambassadors should proceed to Philip and have the oath taken immediately. But for some reason they did not set out until after Munchion 3rd (April), and then they did not go direct to Philip in Thrace; but, having proceeded to Oreus, they arrived at Pella by slow passages, and awaited there until Philip

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returned from Thrace, fifty days after they left Athens. DEM. FALS. LEG. p. 390. And still he did not take the oaths until nearly twenty days after. I would therefore interpret the present passage to mean, that as Athens had sworn in presence of the Macedonian envoys, the orator may intend that Philip was bound by the action of his envoys.

Τῆ πόλει.] JACOBS well remarks that the loss of such unimportant places was small to Athens, but it was not the political profit or loss that was now to be regarded, but *right*, and political justice, and therefore independent of the magnitude or unimportance of the subjects in dispute. Ἄλλος ἂν . . . οὗτος. *That were another question.* SMEAD quotes PLATO, APOI. SOC. c. 23. Εἰ μὲν παρβαλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἢ μὴ, ἄλλος λόγος. De LEG. i. 7. ὁ λόγος ἂν ἕτερος εἴη.

Τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς . . . δύναμιν] He here quotes a paradox of the Stoics, that ἴσα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα καὶ κατορθώματα. WOLF. On ἐπιμικρὸν, cf. JELF. 633. *Religion and justice demand the same, whether the transgression be in great or small things.*

Ἦν βασιλεὺς . . . εἶναι.] This abrupt introduction of the king of Persia seems rather strange, and the appeal to his authority is somewhat remarkable. "But the growing power of Philip and his threatening disposition would naturally induce the Athenians to court the friendship of any state strong enough to protect them." WHISTON. Translate: *Which the king and all the Greeks know to be yours.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, without the article as is usual in speaking of the king of Persia. From HER. vi. 34, we learn that in the time of Peisistratus the Chersonese was inhabited by Dononians, and that they invited Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, to rule over them. He took out with him a body of Athenians as settlers, who volunteered for the expedition, vi. 36. He also built a wall from Pactya to Cardia, and thus protected the country. Miltiades was succeeded by Stesagoras, and, on his assassination, Hippias sent his brother Miltiades, who ruled for twenty-four years, and then abandoned the country from fear of the Persians, and returned to Athens. After the battle Marathon the country was again secured to Athens, and continued subject to them until the end of the Peloponnesian War. They then lost it,

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and did not finally gain possession of it until its cession to them by Cersobleptes in 358-7.

Καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα.] *And writes us word that such is the case.* Cf. EPIST. PHILIP. p. 161. Καρδιανοῖς δέ φημι βοηθεῖν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοσοῦτου δέω.] *So far am I from agreeing, &c.* I have retained τοσοῦτου instead of τοσοῦτω. The expressions πολλοῦ δέω, ὀλίγου δέω, and τοσοῦτου δέω, all have the same general meaning of *wanting*, and are all followed by the infinitive.

Ἄσπε καὶ Μεγάρων ἀπτόμενον.] A short time before the date of this oration, some Megareans, under the leadership of Pterilaus, laid their plans for the capture of the city, by means of Macedonian troops sent from Phocis to Pegæ, the port of Megara on the Crissæan Gulf. Word came to Athens, and Phocion and a body of Athenian hoplites (B. C. 343) were despatched with all haste. They arrived at Megara, and made the city secure by fortifying Nicaea, and connecting it by long walls with Megara, thus securing the entry of Athenians at any time into the city. Pterilaus was soon after tried at Megara before the *Three Hundred*, and acquitted by means of Pteodorus, a man of great influence in the city, who afterwards despatched him for more Macedonian troops, which, however, did not arrive. FALS. LEG. 436. We can easily see the importance Athens placed upon Megara from the frequent mention made of it by Demosthenes in this and other orations. Cf. PHIL. iv. p. 133. FALS. LEG. pp. 368, 435, 446, 448. In De COR. p. 324, we find Pteodorus given in the list of traitors to Greece and partisans of Philip. The reason of this importance being given to the city is that, having all Bœotia under his sway, if he gained Megara he would have surrounded Athens on all sides. He already governed Eubœa by his bribed adherents.

Ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευάζοντα.] This is more fully treated of in the present oration, pp. 123-127. REISKE prefers to read τυραννίδας, for Philip had set up several tyrants in Eubœa, but τυραννῆς is here used generally, to apply to any tyrants. Translate: *Dominationem tyrannorum.*

Νῦν ἐπὶ Θράκην παρίοντα.] Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 100. Philip was still absent in Thrace at the date of this oration, and had

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been there for more than ten months. The campaign ended by the subjugation of the country and the expulsion of the kings. WINIEWSKI, p. 187.

Τὰ ἐν.σκευωρούμενον.] *Cunningly laying his plots in Peloponnesus.* The verb σκευωρεῖσθαι, like σκευοποιεῖσθαι, is applied to a cunningly devised trick, to effect by intrigue. Its derivative, σκευώρημα, has the same force. Cf. DEM. p. 955. Ἄλλ' εἶναι τοῦτο πλάσμα καὶ σκευώρημα ὄλον. Also, p. 1035, σκευώρημα στυδόντες.

Εἰ μὴ καὶ.προσαγάγωσιν.] *Unless indeed ye will say that those who are placing their engines keep the peace, until they lead them against the walls.* Observe that Demosthenes uses the word μηχανήμα here and below, where other writers would use μηχανή, as THUC. ii. 76, Μηχανὰς προσήγον τῇ πόλει; iv. 13, Ἀποβάσσεως δὲ μάλιστ' αὐτοῦ ἐλεῖν μηχαναῖς. However, he may not here intend so much engines of war, as deceit of any kind, as in ÆSCH. PROM. 469. In the CHORPH. 981, it is applied to the robe in which Agamemnon is entangled.

Ὅς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθῆην.] *By which I may be overcome.* Κὰν μήπω βάλῃ μὴδὲ τοξεύῃ. *Even though he hurl no javelin and draw no bow.*

Τίσιν οὖν.γένοντο.] *If anything should happen, of what would you be in danger?* Κινδυνεύειν is here construed with a dative, as in HER. ii. 120, vii. 209, viii. 60. The construction with ὑπὲρ and the genitive is the more common, although πρὸς and the accusative is found in HER. iv. 11. In this passage, REISKE reads εἰ γίνοντο, and translates: *Quoniam igitur illa sunt, quorum eventus nos in discrimen conjiciat.* But εἰ τι γένοιτο, si quid acciderit, is more spirited. The infinitives following are to be regarded as substantives in apposition to τίσιν.

Εἶτα.] JELF. 874. 6. Τοῦτον εἰρήνην.πρὸς ὑμᾶς; *Can I affirm that he keeps the peace towards you?* Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω. *And indeed I am far from doing so.*

Ἄφ ἧς ἡμέρας.Φωκίας.] *But from the day he destroyed the Phocians.* We cannot determine the exact date of the destruction of these towns, but the most probable date is Scirophorion 23rd,

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the day on which Phalæcus and his mercenaries surrendered to Philip at Thermopylæ. The Phocian towns surrendered at the same time, and their destruction followed immediately. This was hardly a week after the signing of the peace at Phæræ.

Ἐμῆς δὲ φημί.] *And I say you are wise if you send assistance now.* Ἡδῆ is very emphatic here. Δυνήσεσθε. De meo sensu dedi δυνήσεσθαι in infinitivo apto e præmisso φημί, *Sio negatum vobis tum fore, ut faciatis.* ΡΕΙΣΚΕ. But all the manuscripts give δυνήσεσθε, and I have retained it. Besides, I can hardly see why it should be changed, as there is no anacoluthon in leaving it as it is.

Καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε τῶν ἄλλων.] *And so much do I dissent from.* Ὡστε κ.τ.λ. *That I do not think we ought now to consult regarding the Chersonese, nor Byzantium.* Βυζαντίον. A town on the Thracian Bosphorus, founded by the Megareans, B. C. 658. The other Grecian colonies in this neighbourhood were Lampascus, Cyzicus, Perinthus, and Chalcedon, opposite Byzantium. (HEEREN'S MANUAL, p. 131.) The founder is said to have been Byzas, the son of Neptune. Its site made it, in a very short period, a most flourishing city and a port of great trade with Athens and the rest of Greece. During the Peloponnesian War it was alternately under the sway of the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians. It revolted from Athens in 358, and took part with Rhodes and Chios in the Social War. It had continued ill-affected towards Athens during all the remainder of the reign of Philip, and sometimes in alliance with him, (*De Cor.* p. 254), until the year of this speech, when Demosthenes was sent as envoy to visit it, and induced it to form an alliance with Athens against Philip. In consequence of this, and of the aid lent to Athens against Philip, the people voted a crown to the Athenians. *De Cor.* p. 255.

Καὶ τοῖς ὄσιν ἀποστείλαι.] *And send to the soldiers who are now there everything they may need.* Ἐκεῖ. This word refers only to the Chersonese, not to Byzantium. Phocion and the soldiers under his charge were not received into Byzantium until 341-0, the year after the delivery of this speech. The allusion then, will be to Diopithes and his soldiers.

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'Εξ ὧν φοβούμαι.] [*Page 25.*]
From what cause I thus am in dread for
our affairs. After εἰπεῖν understand *περὶ τῶν*. *Μερέχειν* has the
meaning of *to partake of anything* with another, hence *to adopt*,
as here. Translate: *Ye may adopt my opinions.*

[*Page 26.*]
Καὶ πρόνοιάν τιν' ποιήσῃσθε.] "FRANKE translates as if it
were *εἰ μὴ ἔρα, nisi forte*: but, as following *ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν*, I think
εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων is *si non etiam reliquorum*; the *ἔρα* being *ut*
videtur. *That you may at least take some wise precautions for*
yourselves, if, as it seems, you do not choose to do so for other states
as well." ARNOLD. *Ἰμῶν γ' αὐτῶν*, the objective genitive.

Τετυφώσθαι.] This word is variously derived. If from *τύφος*,
smoke, mist, it will mean here *to be wrapt in smoke or clouds, to be*
silly or absurd. This is the view taken by most modern etymolo-
gists, and in my opinion the correct one. HARPOCRATION remarks
upon it: *τετύφομαι ἐμβεβρόντημαι, ἕξω τῶν φρενῶν γέγονα*. Cf.
FALS. LEG. p. 409. 'ΑΛΛ' ἐγὼ μαίνομαι, καὶ τετύφομαι, where the
first derivation is certainly preferable to the second. *Ἀηρεῖν*. *To*
speak or act like a fool. Compare the Latin *deliro, I rave*, and its
English derivative, *delirium*.

Ἄδθεις.] Again, hence hereafter. Translate: *Neither now nor*
hereafter consider me as one sound in mind.

Μεγας ἠύξηται.] Proleptic use of *μέγας*. It is already
implied in the verb *αὐξάνειν*. Cf. XEN. ANAB. i. 5, 8, *μετεώρους*
ἐξεκόμεσαν τὰς ἀμάξας. *Πρὸς αὐτοὺς = προς ἀλλήλους*. JELF. 654,
2. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 247, for the sudden rise of Macedon.

Καὶ ὅτι πολλῶν γενέσθαι.] *And it was far more improbable*
that he should become such as he is, from the man he was. Προεί-
ληψε. *Jam tenet. Legi possit etiam προσείληψε, cæteris adjunxit.*
WOLF.

Καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι.] *He should also reduce what*
remains under himself. He uses the aor. Inf. to denote a *finished*
result, and not the *gradual reduction* of them, which would re-
quire the present. Διεξελεθειν. *To go through in words, to relate.*
Cf. HER. vii. 18.

'ΑΛΛ' ὁρῶ αὐτῶν.] *But I see all men, beginning with you,*

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have granted to him, that, &c. The expression ἀπό τινος ἀρξάμενος is used adverbially, and has the peculiarity of agreeing with its subject, and defines its limits and sense. Cf PLATO. REP. 600. Οὐκοῦν τίθωμεν ἀπὸ Ὀμήρου ἀρξαμένουσ πάντας τοὺς ποιητικοὺς μιμητὰς εἰδῶλων ἀρετῆς εἶναι. Τελευτῶν, διαλιπῶν χρόνον, and ἀνύσας, are used in a similar manner. WOLF says: ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀρξ. *inter quos primi estis*, while SCHÆFFER translates: *Initio a vobis facto*.

Οὕτως] *In so public a manner*, i. e. in a way plainly intended for all to see, and in which no evasion was intended. Περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυστεῖν. These words convey in a very forcible manner the scorn of the orator. Περικόπτειν is applied to trees, *to cut them round and thus destroy them*. He uses it in this meaning in *De REB CHERS.* p. 91. Then again, λωποδυστεῖν (from λῶπη, a garment, and δύνω) was applied to such as robbed bathers and travellers, and committed other petty thefts. By such means does the orator often mark his scorn for the actions of the Macedonian. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 54.

Καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις.] *To enslave the cities*, i. e. commonwealths of Greece. I am inclined to take this view, since to apply it to any separate cities would lessen the force of the argument. In the same way πραγμάτων is used a few lines above, to denote the whole affairs of the commonwealth.

Καίτοι.] *And yet*. Ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη καὶ τρία. Our orator has here given a hard task to his commentators, who will not see that he is speaking generally. However, in this case, we may presume he gives the exact number, which he intends to be correct, and below, p. 117, when he says "seventy years," he must be understood as speaking in general terms. The seventy-three years will date from the close of the Persian wars, B. C. 477, to the battle of Ægospotamos, which ended the Peloponnesian War, B. C. 405-4 (OL. 93, 4). But Demosthenes mentions in OL. iii. p. 35, that the Athenians "had the hegemony of the Greeks *with their consent* for forty-five years." These years must be computed from B. C. 477 (OL. 75, 4,) to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, which will be over forty-five years (OL. 87, 2). His statements thus harmonize with the facts of Grecian history; but when we compare his dates with those of other writers, a remark-

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able discrepancy arises. ISOCRATES in one place says their sway
lasted sixty-five years. LUCCHESINI adopts this, counting from
the close of the Persian war to the defeat of the Athenians at
Syracuse. BOECKH also agrees in the years, but commences to
count from OL. 77, 2. B. C. 471. The round number, *seventy*, is
given also by LYSIAS. Ἐπιτάφιος, 55. PLATO, EPIST. vii. p. 443,
and ISOCRATES, PANEGYR. 122. We have seen that he also gives
the date as sixty-five. See CLINTON'S FAST. HELLEN. ii. AP.
p. 263.

Τριάκοντα ἐνὸς δέοντα.] These twenty-nine years are to be
reckoned from the battle of Ægospotamos (OL. 93, 4) to the de-
feat of the Lacedæmonians by Chabrias at Naxos, B. C. 376 (OL.
101, 1). For the manner in which Sparta used her power, see
GROTE, chap. lxxvii. For the greatness of her power, see XEN.
HELLEN. v. 3.

Ἰσχυσαν δέ τι μάχην.] And the Thebans have obtained the
power these late years, after the battle of Leuctra. Fought between
Epaminondas and the Thebans, and Cleombrotus and the Spar-
tans, B. C. 371 OL. 102, 2). In consequence of this victory the
chief power passed to the Thebans, who were the last of the
Greeks who could claim the hegemony, since Philip, the next
leader, was no Greek.

Ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλοισθε.] To do whatever you wished. He uses
the second person because: "Secunda persona quum plura sub-
jecta adsint, recte ponitur, quum is quem alloquimur primus et
proximus nobis sit." BREMI. SCHÆFER remarks that ποιεῖν should
have the article, since as often as τοῦτο is explained in the same
sentence by an infinitive following it, in prose the article is
scarcely ever omitted. He also reads βούλοισθε. But the opta-
tive is preferable, since the circumstances varied with the wish,
and it could refer to no settled plan.

Οὐδὲ πολλοὺ δεῖ.] Far from it. Neutiquam. (cf. De REB. CHERS.
p. 100. Τοῦτο μὲν. The corresponding word is καὶ πάλιν. WOLF
lays it down that when τοῦτο μὲν is used, τοῦτο δὲ should follow.
But this is not followed here, nor indeed does the orator confine
himself very strictly to these formulæ; for at page 123 he has

[Page 26.]

πρῶτον, followed by δέ, when we should expect ἔπειτα δέ. Again, at p. 126, τοτὲ μὲν—πάλιν δε.

Μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις.] Vide quo artificio Orator captet aurem popularem. Τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν προσφέρεσθαι, *Seemed to conduct themselves perhaps harshly towards certain states.* Here again the orator states a disagreeable fact in such a way as to flatter his audience, and at the same time mark his sense of their conduct. WOLF translates: *Quum quosdam non moderate tractare viderentur.* The truth of this remark will be fully confirmed by the action of Athens towards the various members of the confederacy of Delos subsequently to the wars with Persia. Cf. GROTE, chap. xlv. Considering the real facts, Demosthenes would have been right if he had used instead of οὐ μετρίως, μάλ' ὑβριστικῶς, as DISSSEN remarks. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 231. Οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρητο (Θηβαῖοι).

Πάντες φόντο δεῖν. . . . πολεμεῖν.] *All the rest, even those having no charge to bring forward, considered it a matter of necessity to urge war in conjunction with the wronged states.*

Ἄρξαι.] *Imperium capessentes.* For ἄρχειν here, as SCHÆFER remarks, is *imperium capessere*, not *imperare*. He compares HER. i. 14. Ἐπεὶ τε ἤρξε, *Postquam regno potitus est.* Translate: *Having obtained the chief power, and succeeding to the same political influence.*

Πλεονάζειν.] *Insolescere, plus sibi, quam oportebat, arrogare.* So ISOCR. *de SOPHISTIS*, Εἰ καὶ νῦν πλεονάζουσι, *Tametsi nunc insolenter sese jactant.* WOLF. Περὰ τοῦ μετρίου. . . ἐκίνου. *And disturb existing institutions beyond what was reasonable.* This alludes to the action of Lysander and the Spartans after the defeat of the Athenians in B. C. 405. The attempt to establish an oligarchy was generally regarded as odious in the extreme. The appointment of decarchies and a Spartan harmost in each city was looked upon as only another name for tyranny. Besides, these rulers were generally unfit for their station, and caused much ill-feeling. But the crowning act of arrogance was the seizure of the Kadmeia, which ultimately led to a union, ending in the overthrow of the Lacedæmonian influence in Greece.

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 Καὶ τί δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν;] And why need I mention the
 others? "These words are used to indicate a change to more
 serious subjects." FRANKS.

Οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες.] *An here is to be referred to ἔχοντες,
 and the expression is then equivalent to οὐδὲν ἂν εἴχομεν, sc. εἰ
 καὶ ἠβουλόμεθα. Having no fault to find at the outset regarding
 any injury inflicted by the one upon the other. The allusion here
 is to the Peloponnesian War, which, as WHISTON remarks, origi-
 nated not in any direct attack of the Athenians or the Spartans
 upon each other, but in the struggle between the Epidamnians
 and Corcyraeans, and the events arising therefrom.

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Καίτοι.] Many editions have καίτοι γε, which seems a prefer-
 able reading. Ἐξημάρτηται. Everything which had been inflicted.
 Ἐν τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα.] Vide supra Ἐλάττων ἔστιν. Are of less
 consequence. Manuscripts vary here between ἐλάττω, ἐλάττων,
 and the reading as given above. I have adopted it on the autho-
 rity of DINDORF and SCHÆFER.

*Ὡν Φίλιππος . . . ἠδίκηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας.] Than the wrongs
 which Philip has inflicted upon the Greeks, in scarcely thirteen
 years, during which he has had the upper hand. This oration was
 delivered in 342-1 (OL. 109, 3), and thirteen years before would
 be 355-4 (OL. 106, 2), and before this year, Philip had captured
 Pydna and Potidæa, founded the new town of Philippi, and
 opened for himself the resources of the adjoining auriferous re-
 gions; he had established relations with Thessaly, and assisted
 the Aleuadae against the tyrants of Phæra, captured Amphipolis,
 and terrified the Athenians for the safety of the Chersonese. He
 had also overrun and subdued the Illyrians and Pæonians, and
 fully consolidated his empire to the north of Mount Oeta. GROTE,
 chap. lxxxvi. Ἐπιπόλασι. Aliquid esse caput. SCHÆFER. But
 the meaning of the verb is not fully brought out by such an ex-
 pression. It means to swim upon the surface (ἐπιπολή, ἐπι, πέλω).
 The word is used by medical writers, in the same way as the Latin
 in stare stomacho, of food remaining crude on the stomach; and
 is also used of the effects of liquor on the brain, to intoxicate.

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Hence, as editors generally observe, it is applied contemptuously here. Demosthenes means by it, that Philip may go on smoothly for a time, but the end will come soon. Intoxicated by his success, he will make some blunder which will ensure his fall.

Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ. . . . ἐκείνα.] *Or rather they are not the smallest part of them.* The reading of VÖGEL and SAUPPE here is πέμπτον μέρος, from Codd. Σ. Ω. All other editions give the reading as I have. REISKÉ seems to think the reading, πέμπτον, to have arisen from the frequent use of the formula in Demosthenes: Οὐδὲ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ψήφων λαβεῖν.

Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν.] These cities were the last which Philip attacked on the Chalcidic peninsula. Methone here is usually distinguished from the Methone on the Thermaic Gulf by the epithet of "Thracian." It is still further characterized by THUCYDIDES as τὴν ἕμωρον Μακεδονία, vi. 7. Many writers contend that it was in the capture of this city, and not of Methone on the Thermaic Gulf, that Philip lost an eye. GROTE, chap. lxxxvii. Apollonia was "an Ionian colony, in Mygdonia." ARNOLD. These cities were now allies of Olynthus, which was the head of the Chalcidic confederacy.

Ἐπὶ Θράκης.] This expression is used to denote the peninsulas lying southward of Macedonia proper, and inhabited chiefly by colonies from various Greek cities. In the earlier years of Demosthenes it was very populous and wealthy, and we see from his language to what a condition it had been reduced by "scarcely thirteen years" of Macedonian rule. "Ἐπὶ Θράκης. Thraceward; or living in the direction of Thrace. A general term applied to the Greek States which lined the Ægean from Thessaly to the Hellespont. The Chalcidic colonies in this quarter, amongst which were Olynthus, Torone, Sermyle, and Arne, were founded from Chalcis in Eubœa." ARNOLD *ad* THUC. i. 57.

Προσελθόντ'.] Sc. τινά. Many editions have before μηδ', μηδένα, but I have omitted it as unnecessary, on the authority of DINDORF. *Any one, having gone there, could not easily say.* AUGER translates: *si accesseris, nec facile dicas.* WOLF says μηδένα προσελθόντα, pro μηδένι προσελθόντι.

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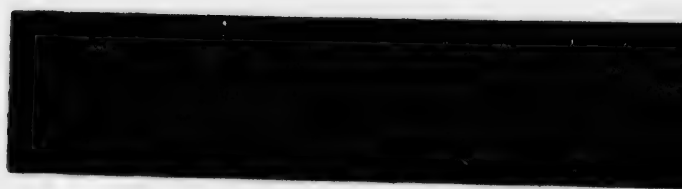
Καὶ τὸ Φωκίων ἔθνος τασούτων ἀνηρημένον.] Referring to the almost total destruction of the twenty-two Phocian towns, dismantled and broken up into villages, none of which was to contain more than fifty houses, nor be nearer its neighbour than a space of one furlong. The decree is given in LELAND'S *Philip*, vol. ii. book iii. s. iii.

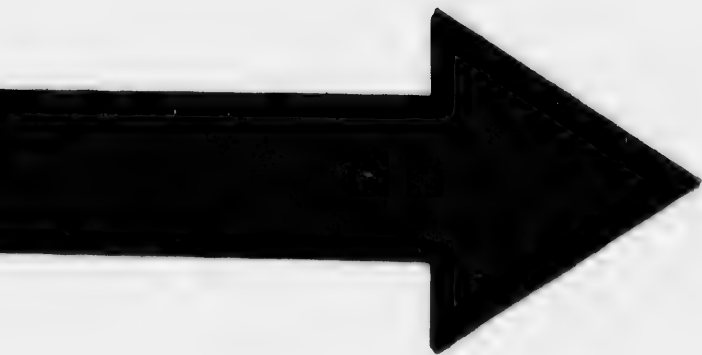
Οὐχὶ τὰς . . . παρῆρηται.] By 'πόλεις' I understand *Pagasaë* and *Magnesia*, by 'πολιτείας,' *liberty*. WOLF. Yet what this liberty was he nowhere states. The whole country, as has been observed in a previous note, was divided into four divisions, and was very powerful when united under the government of a single ruler called *Tagus*, a name peculiar to Thessaly (POLLEX. i. 128). Each of these four divisions comprised several cities, the chief magistrates of which were also called *Tagi*. ΒΑΣΚΗ. *Corp. Inscript.* No. 1770. They were generally at war with each other. Larissa, Phæra and Pharsalus seem to have had a certain power over the others. The general government had the imposts on the tributaries, and the harbour dues to support it, together with the duties on all markets. These were seized by Philip and applied to his own use. DEM. OL. i. p. 15. We also learn from DEM. p. 15, as above, that Philip seized these revenues of the country and applied them to his own use. The liberty they enjoyed, therefore, seems hard to determine, still it was a rule of Thessalian over Thessalian, and thus to be preferred to that of a foreigner.

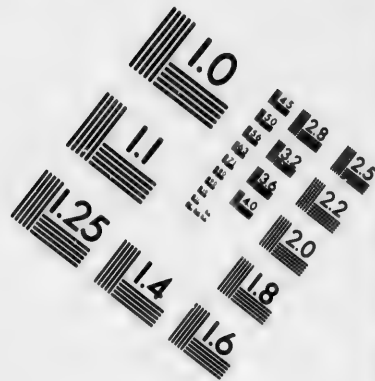
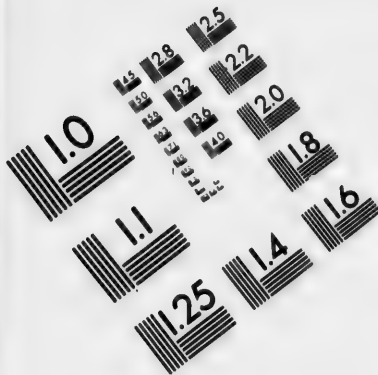
Καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν.] *And he has established tetrarchies.* See note, p. 71.

ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις . . . δουλεύωσιν;] *That he may not only enslave them by cities, but also by nations.* By making all responsible to him instead of the *Tagi* of the various cities. Besides, each district was directly accountable to him. Compare WOLF ad loc.: "*Totam Thessaliam in quatuor præfecturas divisit, ut non modo oppidatim sed etiam regionatim (ut ita dicam) serviant.*"

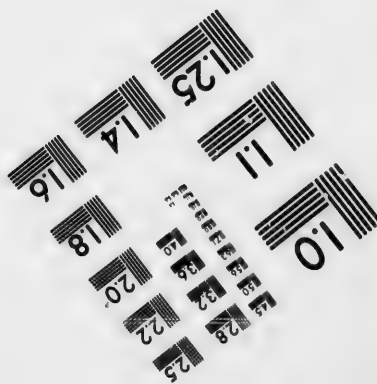
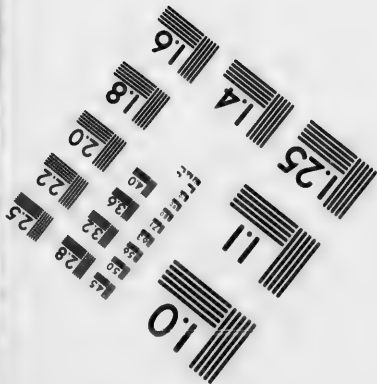
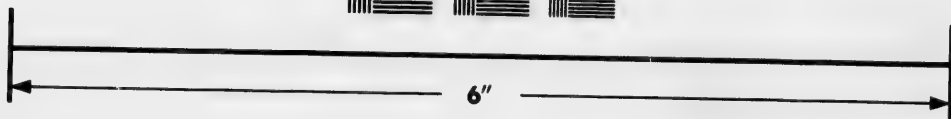
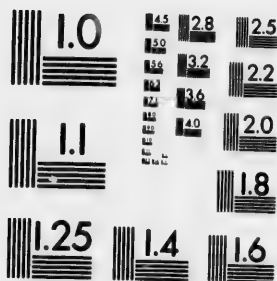
Αἱ δ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις.] Oreus and Eretria, and perhaps others. Πλησίον is here construed with a genitive, which is the more usual construction. In IL. xxiii. 732, πηλίοιοι ἀλλήλοισι is found.







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In SOPH. ŒD. R. 1134, the derivative *πλησιάζειν* is joined with an acc. *Καὶ ταῦτα*, *And that too*. JELF. 880, i.

Καὶ οὐ γράφει . . . οὐ ποιεῖ.] *And he does not write these things and not exhibit them in his actions.* Cf. *De Cor.* 288. *οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δὲ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δε Θηβαίους.* CIO. *pro MILONE.* c. 23. *Neque vero se populo solum, sed etiam senatui commisit; neque senatui modo, sed etiam publicis præsidiis et armis: neque his tantum, verum etiam ejus potestati cui senatus totam rempublicam commiserat.* See also BARKER'S n. to *De Cor.* s. 144 of his edition for further examples.

Ἑλλησποντον.] This has no reference to the strait, but to the district of that name lying alongside of it. The cities along this coast were also called *Ἑλλησπόντιαι πόλεις*. XEN. AN. i. 1.

Ἀμβρακίαν.] Philip's expedition against Ambracia is mentioned also in *De HALON.* p. 84, and again in PHIL. iv. p. 133. From the language employed it seems doubtful whether the city was captured or not.

Ἦλιον ἔχει.] *He holds Elis, i. e. his faction rules supreme in that city.* After the battle of Mantinea, B. C. 362, the oligarchical party at Elis succeeded in expelling their opponents. During the reign of Philip the oligarchs identified themselves with Philip, and the opposite party invited to their aid a body of the mercenaries of Phocis who had retired to Crete. These were defeated, and the prisoners afterwards massacred under the decree of the Amphictyons passed against all who had taken part in the plunder of Delphi. DIODOR. xvi. 63. Hence arises the expression of Demosthenes in PHIL. iv. 133, *τὰς ἐν Ἠλίδι σφαγὰς*, which is repeated *ipissima verba* in FALS. LEG. p. 424. But while Philip was thus subserving his interests in Elis to satisfy the governing party, he at the same time was advancing his power at her expense. He conquered from her Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elateia colonies belonging to her, in the Cassiopeian district, in the north of Epirus, and gave them to his brother-in-law, Alexander. *De HALON.* p. 84.

Μεγάροις] See n. p. 115. *οὐδ' ἢ Ἑλλάς . . . τὰνθρώπων.* Neither Greek nor barbarian land limits the ambition of the man.

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JUVENAL makes much the same remark about Alexander. SAT. x. 168. Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis. The omission of γῆ with these adjectives is very unusual, and few examples can be given. The only one now occurring is ECR. PHOEN. 1524, τίς Ἑλλάς ἢ τίς βάρβαρος. But even more, as HERMANN ad loc. remarks, "only one of the scholiasts interprets with γῆ, all the others considering it as masculine." Mr. WHISTON cites ÆSCH. PERS. 184. Ἡ μὲν Ἑλλάδα κλήρη λαχοῦσα γαίαν, ἣ δὲ Ἐρβαρον, and adds that the whole form is given in XEN. ANAB. v. 5, 16, eis βάρβαρον γῆν.

Οὕτω δὲ κακῶς. . . . κατὰ πόλεις.] So wretchedly are we disposed to each other, and ruined city by city. Διορύσσειν properly signifies to dig through a wall, and undermine it, hence to ruin. Many editors interpret this word to mean separated from each other by walls and trenches. But the simpler meaning as above is to be preferred. Cf. SCHÆFER, perforati sumus, h. e. corrupti, pessumdati.

Οὐδὲ συστήναι.] Nor support one another. Κοινωνίαν βοηθειᾶς καὶ φιλίας. A common bond of assistance and friendship.

Περιορώμεν.] We disregard. Non impedimus incrementa potentia Philippi. WOLF. Τὸν χρόνον. . . ἕκαστος ἐγνωκῶς.] Each one having resolved to make the best use of the time during which his neighbour is destroyed. Philip's policy for peace was always so arranged that he never encountered too many enemies at once. He amused one party by letters and promises, and meanwhile deprived it of allies and friends. Take for examples Olynthus during the capture of its allies; and Athens, after the signing of the Peace, in regard to Phocis. Napoleon's policy was much the same; but his was a war policy, in which he made his actions to correspond to Virgil's castigat auditque dolos.

Ὅπως σωθήσεται. . . . πράττων.] After verbs of curing for, considering, &c., ὅπως with the future indicative is used instead of the subjunctive. REISKEN remarks on the present passage, immo vero σκοπεῖν et πράττειν, qui infinitivi apti sunt ex ἐγνωκῶς, hoc, ut Græcia salva sit. It is better, however, to make them adjuncts of ἕκαστος.

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"Ὡσπερ.] JELF. 868, 3, 4. Ἐπει ὅτι γε . . . οὐδὲς ἀγνοεῖ δὴ σου. Since indeed assuredly, none can be ignorant that, like a periodic attack or approach of fever, or some other disease, he is coming upon even him now appearing to be far removed from him. The reference is to a regular return of an intermittent fever. WESTERMANN and SMEAD make the reference to be to an epidemic, but it would hardly convey the orator's meaning so well to limit it to such diseases. He represents the actions of Philip as so insidious, that a man may be seemingly quite well to-day, and to-morrow be prostrated by an attack. On καταβολή, *accessio*, cf. PLATO GORG. § 157, Ἡ καταβολὴ αὐτῆ τῆς ἀσθενείας. WOLF says: Περίοδος ἐστὶ χρόνος ἐπιτάξεως καὶ ἀνέσεως ἐν νοσήματι γιγνόμενος. From these definitions it can be fairly concluded that a fever returning at certain intervals is meant, rather than an epidemic, which is not necessarily periodic. Δὴ σου. Truly. JELF. 724, 2.

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Καὶ μὴν.] And further. JELF. 728, c. Ἄλλ' οὖν . . . ἡδικούντο.] Yet at least in this they were wronged by genuine sons of Greece. Ἕλληνας ἰθαγενεῖς. SCHEFER.

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κ.τ.λ.] And one might look upon this in the same manner as if a legitimate son, born to a genuine possession, should manage it discreditably and incorrectly: and for this he would be worthy of blame and reproach; but you could not say this of him, that he acted thus being an alien and not the heir of the property. Ὡσπερ ἂν εἶ, understand ὑπολάβοι after ἂν. Ἄξιον εἶναι, ἐνεῖναι. These infinitives depend upon ὥσπερ ἂν ὑπολάβοι. AUGER reads οὐκ ἐνῆν ἂν λέγειν. But REISKE well remarks there is no authority for so doing. He has himself, however, altered the reading ἄξιος to ἄξιον, no authority in manuscripts being given. However, his emendation has the advantage of being universally accepted. Προσθήκων. Subandi ὦν εἰς τὰ κτήματα τοιούτως ἡδίκησε. REISKE. Κληρὸς is the property in inheritance; κληρονόμος, the heir.

Ἵποβολιμαῖος.] A supposititious child. The word is used specially of children. Cf. HER. i. 137. Τὰ ὑποβολιμαῖα (sc. τέκνα) Νότος, a son of a concubine, or, at Athens, any child born of a citizen and a foreign woman.

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οὐχ. . . . οὐχ.] Observe the force given by the repetition of the negative. *Non ita affecti sunt.* RÜDIGER. Cf. JELF, 747.

Οὐ μόνον. . . . τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.] *Being not only no Greek, nor in any way allied to Greece.* Yet still either the orator was here mistaken, or else how could Philip have competed in the Olympic Games in 356, and be declared victor? PLUT. ALEX. c. 3. The question must have come up then whether he was a Greek or not, for none but pure Greeks could contend in the Olympic Games, and the Hellenodicæ were most particular in this respect. HEA. v. 22, denies that the Macedonians were Greeks, but consult, Ueber die Makedoner; appended to the first volume of the English translation of his History of the Dorians. It is certain they were of Pelasgic origin.

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ. . . . εἰπεῖν.] *But not even a barbarian from a place whence it is honorable to mention.* Demosthenes speaks very hard of the ancient Macedonians. He calls their kings *barbarians*, and *men destined to serve the Greeks*, in OL. iii. But still he gives no worse description of them than Alexander the Great did. ARRIAN. EP. ALEX. vii. 9. Φίλιππος γὰρ ὑπολαβὼν ὑμᾶς πικρῆτας καὶ ἀπόρους ἐν διφθέραις, τοὺς πολλοὺς νέμοντας ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη πρόβατα κατὰ ὀλίγα χαλμύδας μὲν ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν διφθερῶν φορεῖν ἔδωκε, καθήγαγε δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄρεων εἰς τὸ πῆδιον. Quintus Curtius also adds other characteristics in his version of the same speech. *Illyriorum paulo ante et Persarum tributariis, Asia et tot gentium spolia fastidio sunt. Modo sub Philippo seminudæ, amicula ex purpura mordent; aurum et argentum oculi ferre non possunt; lignæ enim vasa desiderant, et ex cratibus scuta et rubiginem gladiatorum.* This speech was made by Alexander, in B.C. 323, a few months before his death.

Ἄλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνοσ.] "*A good-for-nothing Macedonian*, a term frequently borrowed by the later sophists from Demosthenes. Ἄνδράποδον. A Macedonian slave is nowhere mentioned, but Demosthenes is the only authority for saying they were *worthless*. It is rather a subject of pride than reproach. The scholiast informs us: Scythæ, Cappadox, Thrax, Phryx, Aegyptius servus qui esset, is honeste saltim serviebat. Nam ex his populis man-

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cipia sua petebant Athenienses. E Macedonia autem nulla exportabantur. Hoc nequius interpretatus Demosthenes colligit, tam improbos esse Macedonas, ut nemo Athenis servum illinc velit, et Macedonici generis servos omnium servorum esse nequissimos et teterrimos." **ῬΕΙΣΚΕ.**

Καίτοι τί . . . ἀπολείπει;] *And yet in what does he fail short of the height of insolence? Οὐ πρὸς κ.τ.λ.]* By his destruction of the cities, does he not preside at the Pythian games? This has reference to the destruction of the Phocian towns. **Τίθησι τὰ Πύθια,** Intellige, *præmia proponit in Pythiis, i.e. Pythiis præsidet.* **AUGER** The Delphians had the management of the Pythian games down to O.L. 48, B. C. 588. Subsequently they came under the control of the Amphictyons, and in 346 they made over their right to the Thessalians, Bœotians, and Philip. This was regarded by the Athenians with such disgust that in that year they sent no deputies to the Games. "It was in the 3rd year of O.L. 108, that these privileges were conferred upon Philip, and was the first step towards his assumption of the rank of captain-general in Greece. **DIODOR. 16, 20.**" **JACOBS.**

Τὸς δούλους.] Spoken with the strongest contempt. The officers of Philip are intended, quos Orator lasciviens *δημοκρατικῶς dicit δούλους.* **SCHÆFER.** **Ἀγωνοθετήσοντας.** The *ἀγωνοθέται* were either the representatives of the different states, as the Amphictyons at the Pythian Games, or were chosen from the people in whose country the games were celebrated. The Amphictyons were the proper *ἀγωνοθέται* at the Pythian. They were also called *αἰσυμνήται, ἀγωνάρχαι, ἀθλοθέται, βραβεῖς,* and *βραβεύται.* **SCHÆFER** remarks that here the proper word is *ἀθλοθετήσοντας,* according to the grammarians. Cf. **DICT. ANT. s. v.**

Πυλῶν, παρόδων.] He became master of Thermopylæ in 346 after the surrender of Phalæcus and the Phocians. The *Passes* into Greece are Thermopylæ and Elateia. He did not, however, occupy Elateia until a few weeks before the battle of Cheronææ.

Προμαντεῖαν.] *Principem locum in accipiendis oraculis.* **WOLF.** The order of consulting the oracle was usually determined by lot. **ÆSCH. EUM. 62.** The magistrates of Delphi, however, had the right of admitting any person to præaudience regardless of

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the lots. This favour was conferred upon the Lydians and Cræsus, HER. i. 54; upon the Lacedæmonians, PLUT. PER 21; and upon Philip. It was of great importance to obtain this favour, since oracles were given only at stated times, and the enthusiasm of the priestess did not long continue. Hence if many came to consult, some might have to go away unanswered, which could never be the case with the *προμαντεύς*. ²He refers to *προμαντεύαν*. To which not even all the Greeks have a claim. This right was never conferred upon the Athenians, and they must thus have been greatly offended at seeing it bestowed upon the Macedonians.

[Πορθμῶν.] HESYCHIUS: πορθμῶς, στενὸν θαλάσσης, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς διαπέραμα. This town was the port and citadel of Eretria. The circumstances are more fully detailed below. Cf. *De FALS.* LEG. p. 368. "Τὸν δῆμον ἐκβαλοῦντας. By these he means the popular party, but they would be called by their partisans the people." KENNEDY.

[Τὸς δ' ἐπ' Ὀρεῶν.] The same events are related in *De Cor.* p. 248. "From this passage it might seem that Philip's attempts upon Porthmus, or rather Eretria, were contemporaneous with that on Oreus, the ancient Histiea. But from PHIL. iv. p. 133, it seems that the attack upon Oreus was not made till a short time after (μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον) that on Megara, which, so far as we can make out, was in B. C. 343. The seizure of Oreus was therefore probably effected in B. C. 342. But it appears from p. 125 that Philip made more than one attack upon Eretria, the first of which clearly preceded that on Megara (PHIL. iv. p. 133), though only by a short interval, and therefore may be supposed to have been made in B. C. 344." WHISTON.

[Ἄλλ' ὅμως . . . ἀνέχονται.] And yet, understanding these things, the Greeks endure them. I have followed WOLF in translating. SCHAEFER joins ὀρῶντες ἀνέχονται and translates *sustinent videre*, and is followed by Mr. KENNEDY. But neither the present passage nor yet in p. 212, *De FÆD.* cum ALEX. ἢ ἐκόντες ἀδικούμενοι ἀνέχουσθε, does such a construction necessarily follow. "Ὅμως is prefixed to the participle, yet more properly belongs to the verb.

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Liv. 21, 55. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis, mansit aliquamdiu immota acies." FRANKE. JELF. 697. d.

Και τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.] Construe: καὶ δοκοῦσι ἔμοιγε θεωρεῖν (τὸν Φίλιππον) τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ θεωροῦσι τὴν χαλᾶσαν· ἕκαστοι εὐχόμενοι μὲν μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενέσθαι. Ἐφ' οἷς = ἐπὶ τούτοις ᾧ. The antecedent is omitted, and the preposition governs the attracted case of the relative. Cf. XEN. AN. i 9, 25. Τούτου ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς.

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'Αλλ' οὐδ' . . . ἀδικεῖται.] *But not even in what each individual suffers.* KENNEDY translates: *but even the private wrongs of every people.* Very well for a paraphrase, but hardly suitable for a translation. His manner of rendering takes the point out of what follows. Not only do public wrongs go unavenged, but even private injuries are passively endured, *which*, says the orator, *is the very last thing.* Τοῦτο γὰρ τοῦσχα τὸν ἐστί. *For this is the last degree of apathy.* SMEAD. *For nothing can go beyond this at last.* WHISTON.

'Αμβρακίαν.] Cf. n. p. 118. Ambracia (*Arta*) a town on the left bank of the Arachthus, belonging originally to Acarnania, but afterwards to Epirus. It was colonized by the Corinthians in B.C. 660.

Λευκάδα.] An island off the coast of Acarnania now called *Santa Maura*, one of the Ionian Islands. Its length is about twenty miles, and the breadth varies from five to eight. HOMER (Od. xxiv. 377) calls it Ἀκτὴν Ἠπειροῖο. It was originally a part of the main land, and inhabited by Leleges and Teleboans. The Corinthians, under Cypselus, 665 B.C., founded the city of Leucas, and cut through the narrow isthmus, thus making it an island. In the time of the Peloponnesian War, the channel was filled by deposits of sand, and ships were frequently carried across. THUC. iii. 81; iv. 8. The channel was subsequently opened by the Romans. LIVY xxiii. 17, says: *Leucadia nunc insula, et vadoso freto, quod perfossum manu est, ab Acarnania divisa, tum peninsula erat.*

Ναύπακτον.] *Lepanto.* A considerable city of the Locri Ozolae on the north shore of the Sinus Corinthiacus. It became a pos-

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session of the Achæans about 400 B. C., but was taken from
them by the Thebans under Epaminondas. It was afterwards re-
conquered by the Achæans, as we learn from the present passage,
and being now made over to the Ætolians, continued under their
power until the conquest of Greece by the Romans, B.C. 146.

'Εχίνον.] A city founded by Theban colonists in the south of
Thessaly, on the north shore of the Mallic Gulf. WESTERMANN.
There was also a city of the same name in Acarnania, mentioned
by STEPHANUS BYZAN. HARPOCRATION also mentions the city, but
says nothing of its position. ULPIAN, the scholiast, also mentions
the Thessalian Echinus, and determines it as the one mentioned
here. Ἐχίνος πόλις, Θηβαίων μὲν ἄποικος, πλησίον δὲ Θετταλίας.
The city is still called Echino.

Καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου.] "The words: *Is he not now proceeding
to attack the Byzantines?* must be understood of his intentions,
which were at that time sufficiently evident, but were not carried
into effect till the following year." JACOBS. His intention in
attacking Byzantium was to get command of the channel, and
thus prevent the supply of corn at Athens. Cf. on the import-
ance of this city to Athens, *De Cor.* pp. 254, 255. Συμμάχους
όντας sc. αὐτῶ. *De Cor.* p. 254.

Ὀὐχ ἡμῶν—ἐὼ τᾶλλα.] Demosthenes begins to relate the cir-
cumstances in regard to Athens, and suddenly stops, as if aware
that all knew them quite well enough. He only mentions one
city, but *ab uno disc omnes*. Cf. *contra TIMOC.* p. 733. Ὅς τὰ
μὲν ἄλλα ἐὼ ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶ γῆρας βοηθοὺς λυμάλην. SCHÆFER.

Καρδίαν.] This city was at the extremity of the Chersonese,
and in all time seems to have been an enemy to Athens. *Contra*
ARIST. In the treaty with Philip, it was included among his
allies, and it seems at no time to have been under the dominion
of Athens. Diopithes, when Philip was advancing through Thrace,
endeavoured to capture it, but failed, since Philip was enabled to
relieve the city. From *De PACE* p. 63, καὶ Καρδιανούς ἐώμεν ἔξω
Χερρόνησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων τετάχθαι, we see that even the Athenians
allowed that it did not belong to the Chersonese. It was also
reserved by the Cersobleptes in the cession of the Chersonese.

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Μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακίζομεθα.] *We dally and play the woman.* DINDORF and RINDIGER give μαλκίομεν, but there is no necessity for so doing. HARPOCRATION cites this passage, and says μαλκίομεν was another reading. SCHÆFER remarks that μαλκίομεν in this place is the genuine reading, and that this word has been so completely eradicated by interpreters of the orator that no trace of it remains. HARPOCRATION interprets μαλκίομεν by τὸν ὄρθον φρίττειν, which DINDORF styles *purum accurata interpretatio*. The general idea conveyed by μαλκίαν is *numbness*, produced by cold, an interpretation by no means suitable to the present passage, and at any rate not to be preferred to the reading as given above.

Ἄδικοῦντι.] REISKÆ gives ἀδικοῦντος. Quamquam non video, qui locus his esse possit dativo, nisi statuamus, pone ἀπιστοῦντες, deesse πιστεύοντες, *diffidentes mutuo alii aliis. at Philippo fidentes, communi omnium hosti et vexatori.* But to my mind ἀδικοῦντι as well as ἀλλήλοις is governed by ἀπιστοῦντες, and REISKÆ's refining is thus useless.

Τί οἴεσθε. . . . τί ποιήσῃεν.] Observe the repetition of the interrogative to give greater force to the question. Ἐπειδὴν. The order is ἐπειδὴν γένηται κύριος ἐκάστου ἡμῶν καθ' ἕνα. Cf. OL. ii. p. 25. Καθ' ἕνα αὐτῶν ἐκάστον ἐν μέρει.

Ἄνευ λόγου καὶ δικαίας αἰτίας.] *Without reason and just cause, sine ratione et gravi causâ.* Ἐχειν πρὸς. *To be of a disposition towards any person or thing.* SMEAD.

Ἦν τι τότε, ἦν.] *Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium Populi Romani.* CIC. pro LEG. MANIL. 12. Τῶν πολλῶν. *The masses, the people.* Περσῶν. Demosthenes delights to recall these glorious deeds of the ancient Greeks. In this respect he is the Æschylus of the orators. Ἐλευθέραν ἦγε. Ἄγειν here has the meaning it usually receives with ἡσυχίαν, εἰρήνην, *faciebat ut Græcia libera maneret.* SCHÆFER. *And preserved Greece in freedom.* Some editions give ἐλευθέρως here. But not to be received.

Καὶ οὐτε. . . . ἤττατο.] This verb is usually construed with the genitive, as here. Notanda est locutio. SCHÆFER. In XEN. AN. i. 29, we have ἤττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ. Λυμναίεσθαι is not used in the active unless by later writers. Ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε. *Porturbavit, confudit, permiscuit, invertit omnia.* WOLF.

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Οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ σοφόν.] *Nothing recondite nor subtle.* These words and ἀλλ' ὅτι, which follow, are wanting in some manuscripts, and are rejected by Smead as not Demosthenic in spirit. But that is hard to judge in such a small compass. Cf. PLATO. GORG. § 102. Οὐδὲν ποικίλον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί. Would he reject this for a similar reason? Τοὺς ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, *All hated those receiving money from, &c.*

Καὶ χαλεπώτατον. . . . ἐξελεγχθῆναι.] *Et gravissimum crimen erat si quis accepisse munera convincebatur.* WOLF. *And it was a terrible thing to be convicted of taking bribes.*

Τιμωρία μέγιστη.] *With the heaviest punishment.* There were two actions for bribery (δεκασμός) at Athens; one called δέκασμου γραφή laid against the person who gave a bribe; the other δάρων γραφή, against the receiver. The actions lay against all cases of bribery, whether of citizens in the public assembly, of the Heliaea, or βουλή, or of the public advocates. The trial was before the Thesmothetæ, the punishment on conviction was death, or payment of ten times the value of the bribe, to which the court might add any additional punishment (προστιμῆμα). Thus Demosthenes in the case of Harpalus was fined fifty talents and also in addition imprisoned. These laws were still in force, but were never enforced. Καὶ παλάτῃσι συγγνώμη, *And there was no begging off, nor pardon.* The law must have been vigorously carried out if such was the case.

Τὸν οὖν καιρὸν. . . . πραγμάτων.] *The proper moment, indeed, for every affair.* He means that in every action there is a favourable moment at which success is possible, and if that be omitted it will never come again. Compare SHAKESPEARE, *Jul. Cæsar*, Act v. sc. iii.

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows, and in miseries.

τύχη. Cf. with the remarks on Fortune, here, PHIL. i. p. 43, and CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. vi. 35. Hic, quantum in bello fortuna

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possit, et quantos efferat casus, cognosci potuit. For a contrary opinion of Fortune see JUV. x. 366.

Nullum numen habes si sit prudentia; nos te,
Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, cœloque locamus.

Πάντα ἃ προσήκει πραττόντων.] Πάντα is omitted in many editions. *Those wishing to do all that is proper.*

Παρά τῶν λεγόντων] Alluding to Æschines, Eubulus, and others of the Philippizing orators. τῶν στρατηγούντων. This may possibly allude to the accusation of Iphicrates and Timotheus by Chares of having taken bribes from the Chians and Rhodians, and thus leading to the ill-success of the Athenian fleet in the Hellespont during the Social War. DEINARCH. cont. PHIL. s. 17. DIODOR. xvi. 21, 22. However, we have already seen in PHIL. i. that such proceedings were common, and that generals were frequently tried, twice or thrice, and condemned like footpads, p. 53.

Νῦν δὲ ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα.] From ἐκπιπράσκω. *Now all these have been sold, as if from the market.* Ἀντεισῆκται, from ἀντεισάγω. Both verbs are employed in transactions in the public market, and thus show how openly these proceedings were carried on. The orator gives a true, yet lamentable picture of Athenian political honesty.

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Ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν.] Gravius antecedit, sed νενόσηκεν sequitur, ut significet et principium mali et exitium a corruptelis profectum. WOLF. Ἀπόλωλε in reference to foreign affairs νενόσηκεν to intestine broils and commotions. Compare SHAKS. *Macbeth*, iv. 3.

"O nation miserable,

When shalt thou see thy *wholesome* days again?"—KENNEDY.

Ἄν ὁμολογῆ] As Philocrates did. ARNOLD. And yet Philocrates was banished for this very confession. Τάλλα πάνθ' ἤρηται. *All other things which are the necessary attendants of bribery.*

Τῆς ἑλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία]. *And the abundance of supplies in general.* For κατασκευῆς, many manuscripts give παρασκευῆς.

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The difference is $\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$: κατασκευή, apparatus, παρασκευή, supellex, instrumenta, vasa. SCHÆFER. SMAD reads παρασκευῆ, and interprets supellex, the general equipment of an army. A meaning certainly new for supellex, and doubtful as regards παρασκευή.

Nῦν.] Refers to the present time, τότε to the time of the Persian wars.

Ἐπὶ τῶν πολούτων.] *By these barterers.* Referring to Demades, Eubulus, Philocrates, Æschines, Phrynon, and Aristodemus.

Ἵτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει.] The usual formula when proceeding to prove a general statement previously made. Cf. *De Cor.* p. 239. Ἄνωθεν, traced upward from the present. For εἶτι with Ind. cf. JELF. 802, a. b. ANNOLD correctly remarks that τὰναντία is here used adverbially, and is equivalent to ἐναντίως.

Γράμματα.] = Γράμματα δημόσια, Records. Public documents were not unfrequently engraved on brass, and thus secured from destruction. This was specialy the case with names of traitors. The word employed in such cases was γράφειν, incidere. The term was even employed in letters. Cf. supra p. 118. Ἐν ταῖς ἱστολαῖς γράφει. *Eis ἀκρόπολιν.* On the omission of the article, consult JELF. 447, 2.

Ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν προσήκει.] *How zealously it is becoming you to look into such things.* Ζελεῖτης. An ancient city of Mysia, near Mount Ida on the river Aisepus, belonging to the territory of Cyzicus. IL. ii. 824, 825.

Ἄτιμος ἔστω.] *Let him be an outlaw.* Capite imminutus. Ἄτιμία was either total or partial. The example of Arthmius was a total deprivation of right. This resulted in case of murder, theft, false witness, partiality as an arbiter, and violence offered to a magistrate. On the penalties attached to such cases of ἀτιμία, consult DICT. ANT. s. v. The decree here given was proposed by Themistocles, which renders it probable that the event narrated occurred during the Persian War. PLUT. THEMIS. i. 6. For τοῦ Ἀθηναίων the common reading is τῶν Ἀθη. Τοῦ is approved by REISKE, DINDORF and SCHÆFER.

Αἴτια.] *Crimen.* The charge is written.

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Χρυσόν.] Gold uncoined, as opposed to χρυσίον, which signifies the metal coined. The same distinction holds good between ἀργυρος and ἀργύριον.

Λογίσεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ θεωρεῖτε.] On this construction, see n. p. 41.

Τίς ἦν.....ἀξίωμα.] *What was the sentiment, or what the decision of the Athenians who then acted so?* Cf. for this meaning of ἀξίωμα, SOPH. ŒD. COL. 1454. Πάτερ, τί δ' ἐστὶ τὰξίωμα, ἐφ' ᾧ καλεῖς; *Father, what is your decision or resolve, on whom do you call?* WOLF says of this word: Dignitatem hic appellat magnifica facta, tanta republica digna. On which SCHÆFFER remarks, Mihi videtur ἀξίωμα h. l. esse idem quod φρόνημα.

Καὶ ἀτίμους.] *And dishonored*, i. e., the taint extended not only to him but also to his posterity. This only happened in certain extreme cases. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν.....ἀτιμίαν. *And this is not what one would usually call outlawry. Ea vero est non simplex ignominia.* WOLF, who also gives the order, thus illustrating the construction: τοῦτο δὲ (τὸ ἀτίμιον εἶναι) οὐκ ἐστὶν (ἀτίμια) ἢν ἀτιμίαν τις οὕτως ἂν φήσειεν. Οὕτως. *Re non pensitata, e consuetudine vulgi parum curantis vim vocabuli.* WOLF.

[Page 31.]

Τί γὰρ τῷ.....ἐμελλεν;] *For what was it to this Zelitan if he were not to participate in the common rights of the Athenians?* The orator proceeds to explain what was the peculiar case of ἀτιμία and its consequences to Arthmius. He also alludes in terms of commendation to the same subject in FALS. LEG. p. 428. But there is a view of the matter not touched upon by him, which we learn from ÆSCH. Adv. Ctes. § 259. Æschines there calls him πρόξενον ὄντα τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Now the πρόξενος enjoyed certain rights of Athenian citizenship, and of these Arthmius would also be deprived. SMEAD (following TOURREIL) gives this account of the matter: Egypt had shaken off the yoke of Artaxerxes, who immediately marched with a formidable army to chastise the rebels into obedience. This he was unable to do for the reason that Athens had sent troops to their assistance. The anger of Artaxerxes was thereupon turned against the Athenians. He sent agents into Peloponnesus, with large sums of

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money to induce the States to commence war against them. It is probable that Arthmius was one of these emissaries, though his name is not mentioned by Diodorus, and that he was thus stigmatized on account of his previous intimate relations with Athens. 'Αλλ' οὐ τοῦτο λέγει. But it does not mean this.

'Υπὲρ ὧν ἀποκτεῖναι.] Super iis pro quibus (interfectis) non permiserit capitis causam instituere (in interfectores). FRANKE. Iis de homicidiis quorum causâ aut quorum in gratiam legislator actiones cædis nullas dat. REISKE. For those cases in which the lawgiver does not allow a trial, but to kill is sanction. I prefer to make ὧν neuter, understanding ἐγκλημάτων. SCHÆFER and WOLF also favour this view. For these cases see DIOT. ANT. s. v. φόνος.

Τοῦτο δὴ εἶναι.] But it means this, that he who killed any one of these was free from pollution. On τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς, Cf. JELF. 613 and 496.

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσι.] For it would not have concerned them unless they regarded it in this light, whether people in Peloponnesus were purchased or corrupted. On this cumulation of words of similar signification see n. p. 41. Μὴ here is equivalent to εἰ μὴ. WOLF translates: Alioquin non curassent, si quis in Peloponneso aliquos emeret et corrumpere, nisi ita sensissent.

'Εκόλαζον δ' ἐτιμωροῦντο.] Hoc, ad poenam, legibus debitam; illud, ad castigationem et emendationem peccantium refertur. HEINDORF.

'Ὡστε καὶ στηλίτας ποιεῖν.] So as even to make them pillar-men, i. e. to inscribe their names on pillars.

Οὐ γὰρ οὕτως πρὸς ἄλλα.] For you have not the same disposition in regard to such things, nor in regard to others. Understand after ἔχεθ', τὴν διάνοιαν. Περὶ πάντων. De omnibus rebus. Regarding everything.

Παραπ, ἠσίως Ἕλληνας.] Pari pacto sese habent reliqui quoque Græci atque vos habetis. REISKE. For the other Greeks are just the same, and not a whit better than you. Σπουδῆς πολλῆς. Much diligence. JELF. 529, 1.

Τίνας εἶπω;] Scilicet βουλῆς. WOLF. This is far inferior to

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REISKÉ, who translates: *Sed equod est illud salutare consilium, dicanne? Shall I say what good counsel?*

Ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀναγιγνώσκει.] The following readings of these words are given. SCHÆFER gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου γίνωσκε, and incorporates it in the text. In other editions the reading above is given, and enclosed in brackets. The Bavarian manuscript gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀνάγνωσις, and in the next line, γραμματείου ἀνάγνωσις, while another edition gives ἐκ τοῦ γραμματείου ἀναγιγνώσκετε. Amid such variation of manuscripts it would be better with VÆMMEL and ARNOLD to expunge it. However, admitting it to be part of the oration, it is evident that the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου stood beside the orators, and read such public documents and laws as were required by the orator in support of his argument. This γραμματεὺς was appointed by the public assembly by χειροτονία, and always read from the γραμματεῖον, or record.

Ἔστι τοίνυν τις τὴν πόλιν.] *There is a foolish report circulated by those desirous of consoling the city.* Εἰθήης, here is something like our *good-natured*, but used ironically. Cf. Ruhnke. ad TIM. 131. "Quicunque Atticorum urbaniores dici haberique volebant, quem stolidum et fatuum dicere verebantur, leni blandoque nomine ἡδὸν, γλυκὺν, εὐήθη, χρηστὸν appellabant." In accordance with this view, cf. OL. iii. 37. Ἐπὶ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν; and De Cor. p. 228. Τοῦτο παντελῶς εἶηθες φήθης. For γλυκὺς in a similar sense cf. PLATO. HIPPOCR. 228, B.

Ποτ'.] At the close of the Peloponnesian War, when by means of the decadarchies and harmosts they might be said to govern the whole earth. Βασιλέα δὲ σύμμαχον εἶχον. After the Athenian defeat at Syracuse, Persia and Sparta united to crush the power of Athens. ISOC. OR. xii s. 110. The price of the friendship of Sparta was the delivery of the Asiatic colonies to the power of Persia.

Ἐφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς.] *And nothing opposed them: i. e., Everything lay so absolutely under their power that there was no use in opposing them.* Cf. WOLF's interpretation: *Quibus nihil obsistebat, contra quos nemo arma movere, nemo se defendere audebat.* Οἱ δυνάμιν ἀνυπόστατον ἔχειν ἐδόκουν.

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War, when by means it be said to govern. After the Athenian to crush the power of the friendship of allies to the power of

opposed them: i. e., power that there was interpretation: Quibus, nemo se defendere

[Page 81.] Καὶ οὐκ ἀνῆρπασθη.] And was not utterly destroyed. Ἀναρπά- ξειν, Funditus perdere, pessumdare, ut si arborem radicitus humo evellas. Cf. ÆSCH. contra CTES. 133. Θῆβαι δὲ, Θῆβαι, πόλις ἀστυγείτων, μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνῆρπασται. Εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσι. Cujusmodi incrementa? Non tam virtutis et potentia, quam vitiorum et ignaviae. Ἐπίδοσις is equivalent to ἀξίσις. WOLF.

Τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.] The art of war. Ἐπιδεδωκέναι, increvisse. Some manuscripts have ὑποδεδωκέναι, decrevisse. Clearly wrong.

Ἀκούω.] I have heard. JELF. 396. Τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε. This plan of warfare was adopted by the Lacedæmonians during the Peloponnesian War. They waited until the crops were nearly ripe, and then invaded and plundered the whole country. The same method of attack was adopted in all the Roman wars until the siege of Veii by Camillus, when winter quarters were first prepared for the soldiers.

Τὴν ὥραλαν αὐτὴν.] Ipso belli gerendi opportuno tempore. WOLF. But this hardly seems a correct interpretation. It is better to translate it with REISKE: Tempestas anni quæ profert omnia, ad τὴν ὥραν, perfectionem, percocct et maturata. It will thus mean the season of the year during which fruits and crops arrive at maturity. With these words FRANK compares c. DIONYS. p. 1292. Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐπιδημήσαντες παραχρῆμάζειν ἔδει καὶ περιμένειν τὴν ὥραλαν. With ἡ ὥραλα, ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους is understood.

Ὀπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν.] With heavy armed soldiers and troops of their own nation. The Lacedæmonians employed no mercenaries in the earlier times. The army was composed of citizens alone, who could not remain long away from home. Their armies were nearly all infantry, and thus an incursion was less to be feared than if they were provided with cavalry. Οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως κ.τ.λ. And so old-fashioned were they, or rather national in their ways; i. e., So great was their simplicity, or rather love of country, that is integrity. WOLF. Πολιτικῶς used here in the sense of οἰκείως. Dutifully. Cf. De GOR. p. 308. Ἄ πολιτικά ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἀπάσαις. Also p. 329. Πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια.

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Χρημάτων.] Gen. of price. ὀνεισθαί . . . οὐδέν, *As to purchase no advantage.* "Non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes. Ferro, non auro, vitam cernamus utrique." ENN. Quoted by KENNEDY. Νόμιμόν τινα. *Legitimate.* Προφανή, the correct reading, instead of the old προσηνή, *cleur* or *open*. Cf. THUC. ii. 93. Οὐτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμήσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν.

Ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδὲ μάχης.] *Ex acie instructa atque praelio.* These words are used to denote the changed manner of their affairs. All is now won by intrigue and ambush, nothing from fair fighting and in open battle.

Φάλαγγα.] This plan of arranging an army was entirely the invention of Philip, and to it may be ascribed his success. For the arrangement consult *Dict. Ant. s. v. Exercitus.* Ἄλλὰ τῷ . . . ἐξηρτήσθαι. *But by having attached to himself.* Non sine contemptu dictum: sed quod a se suspensum sibi adjunctam habet, quod pone se trahit. FRANKK. This explanation is correct, and yet seems unsuited to the gravity of the subject. REISKE has changed the word to ἐξήρτυσθαι, and SCHÆFER adopts this in his notes, but gives the other in the text. This last verb, meaning *to fit out, to get ready for one's self*, seems better suited to the passage. In ÆSCH. PROM. 711, τόξοισιν ἐξηρτυμένοι is the reading of DINDORF, altered from the old lection ἐξηρτημένοι. There is a frequent confusion of these words, on which see MATTHELÆ *ad EUR. HIPPOC.* 1176.

Ξένους.] Philip incorporated in his army the whole available force of Thessaly, horse and foot; and had besides great troops of mercenaries. These immense levies rendered abortive the attempts of other states to oppose him with their own citizen soldiery. On the construction of the acc. see JELF. 584, Obs. 2.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις.] *In addition to these.* The common translation as given by WHISTON, *with these forces*, seems hardly suited to the passage. He is already well prepared with forces, and being so it becomes an easy matter to subdue nations that are weak and almost helpless. *In addition to these* gives this force to the passage. Cf. *Od.* vii. 120. Μῆλον ἐπὶ μήλω. Many editions have κρατῶν after these words, which is clearly a gloss, and may have led to the interpretation, *with these*.

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 ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας.] *In defence of their country.* Δ' ἀπιστίαν,
Ex mutua partium diffidentia, quod una metuat proditorem al-
terius, ut sola dominetur.

Μηχανήματα.....πολιορκεῖ.] Cf. supra n. p. 115. The pecu-
 liar kind of engines intended was Macedonian gold, and a party
 of traitors in the city. By means of these he captured nearly all
 Greece. The statement below that he *made no difference between*
summer and winter must have made the Athenians aware that
 they were contending against an enemy of no common kind. It
 was certainly something new to find a man who never rested
 from war, who marched in winter as well as summer, and who
 endured hardships for the mere sake of becoming a first class
 potentate. Ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, sc. αὐτῶ.

Ὁὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι.....τὴν χώραν.] *Must not allow the war to*
approach your own country. The Greeks say: οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι or
 δεῖ μὴ προσέσθαι. Τὴν εὐήθειαν. *The simplicity.* Alluding to the
 open manner they had of carrying on war. Quia sine proditi-
 onibus et statis anni temporibus ea bella gerebantur, hoc nomine
 titur. WOLF.

Ἐκτραχλίσθηται.] This verb is used of a rearing horse, *to*
throw over his head; hence, in the passive, *to break one's neck*; and
 here, *to rush headlong to destruction.* WOLF translates *colla fran-*
gatis. Ὡς ἐκ πλείστον. *So long before as possible.* ARNOLD.
 But it seems to be equally as good to translate, *so far as possi-*
ble.

Ὁὐχὶ συμπλακέντας διαγωνίσεσθαι.] Means the same as if he
 had said more fully: οὐχὶ δεῖ συμπλακέντας ὑμᾶς Φιλίππῳ διαγωνί-
 σεσθαι αὐτῶ. REISKE. To take very good care to keep him at
 home, and prevent him from coming abroad; but by no means
 to engage with him in battle, which might endanger your safety.
 This was the advice of Pericles in the Peloponnesian War. How
 different the sentiments here expressed from those in PHIL. i. p. 41.
 There the orator is all confidence, and speaks of the power of
 Philip as not to be feared, and regards it as much less than that
 of the Lacedæmonians after the conclusion of the Peloponnesian
 War. Now all is changed. Ten years have made a mournful
 alteration in both, and no one confirms it more than the orator

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himself. Then he was all battle and glory, now the same speaker warns them to avoid provoking the Macedonian too much, and advises predatory wars to engage the attention of the king. Truly *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*.

Πολλὰ φύσει. . . . ὑπάρχει.] *Many advantages naturally belong to us.* Φύσει, here is the dative absolute, of which many instances may be given. Cf. LONG. *de SUB.* 3, 15. φύσει γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ μεγέθους ἐφιέμενοι. 33, 3, ὅτι φύσει πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια . . . ἐπιγιγνώσκεται. Ἐθέλωμεν. *We are willing.* Ἐθέλειν. *What is in our power.* Βούλεσθαι. *What we wish but cannot perform.* Cf. EUR. *ALCEST.* 281. Λέξαι θέλω σοι πρὶν θανεῖν & βούλομαι." WHISTON.

Ἦς. . . . κακῶς ποιεῖν.] *Much of which it is possible to plunder and lay waste and destroy.* Πολλὴν, sc. χώραν. The participle is put in the gender of the word it governs. Cf. JELF. 442, c. and VIRG. *ÆN.* i. 326. Nulla tuarum audita mihi neque visa sororum. Cf. WOLF *ad LEPT.* p. 459. Μυρία, *An indefinite number; μύρια, Ten thousand.*

Ἀγῶνα.] *Proelium, conflictus; πόλεμος, Bellum, etiam cum non conseruntur manus.* WOLF. Cf. LONG. *De SUB.* 13, 4. Ἀγῶν ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἠπτάσθαι τῶν προγενεστέρων οὐκ ἄδοξον. Eis δὲ ἀγῶνα. *But for a battle he is better equipped than we.*

Ὁ μόνον. . . . οὐδέ.] *Adverte Græcorum consuetudinem in talibus enunciationibus adverbium, μόνον, soli priori membro sic tribuentium, ut etiam ad posterius pertineat.* SCHÆFER. τῆ λογισμῶ καὶ τῆ διανοίᾳ, *But in your mind and soul.* Μισῆσαι, *To bring your hatred upon.* FRANKE says: *μισῆσαι, odium concipere, μισεῖν, odisse.* The advice of Demosthenes here is one too true in the history of all nations. If disunion and rebellion come upon a people, let traitors be cut off, and let the war begin at home. A friend of the enemy in the camp may do more injury than all the opposing army. Cf. the similar sentiments expressed in *De REP.* CHERS. p. 104, where almost the same terms are employed to explain the duty of the Athenians.

Ἐκείνοις.] Many editions have ἐκείνω. This is defended by explaining that although the orator speaks of many, he is thinking of Philip alone. Perhaps ἐκείνω has crept in from *De REP.*

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CHERR. p. 104. [Page 32.]
 Εἰς τοῦτο... τί λέγω. Ye have come to such a pitch of folly, or
 insanity, or I don't know what to call it. See n. p. 111.

Μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματα ἐλαύνῃ. Lest some evil genius may
 drive the republic to destruction. Demosthenes is here a true pro-
 phet. He saw that the folly of Greece would be fatal, and that
 slavery impended over his country, and still he thought he must
 oppose it so long as any hope of safety remained. Nor is it
 doubtful that a man, so ardent a lover of his country as he, would
 experience the greatest grief from such a state of affairs. Others
 more vacillating were on that very account the more happy,

Ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν ἡδίστος βίος,
 Τὸ μὴ φρονεῖν γὰρ κάρτ' ἀνώδυνον κακόν.

But in much wisdom there is much affliction, and prudent men
 seeing farther into the future are more grieved thereby; since
 from the very nature of men they draw their conclusion thence.
 Hence Ovid not less truly remarks:—

Augurium ratio est et conjectura futuri,
 Hoc divinavi notitiamque tuli.

Isocrates also wrote as follows of Philip: Ἦγοῦμαι δὲ καὶ τὰ
 πεπραγμένα πρότερον οὐκ ἂν ποτέ σοι γενέσθαι τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος
 εἰ μὴ τις τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ συγκατάρθρωσεν. WOLF. Cf. also on the
 influence of δαιμόνιον τι, SOPH. ANT. 618. The notion that
 Jupiter perverts the understanding in order to make men do
 wrong is found in several parts of the Græek writings. EUR.
 FRAG. "Ὅταν δὲ δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσούνη κακὰ, Τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶ-
 τον. For further examples see BRASSE'S ANT. v. 818, and the
 excellent note in ARNOLD'S edition, p. 148
 "Ἄστε... κελεύετε.] Construe: ὥστε κελεύετε ἀνθρώπους μισ-
 θωτοὺς λέγειν ἔνεκα λοιδορίας—ἦστινος ἂν τύχητε ἔνεα' αἰτίας, For
 any cause whatever.

[Page 33.]
 Ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι.] AUGER omits the οὐκ as unnecessary af-
 ter the verb ἀρνεῖσθαι. But from XEN. REP. ATH. 2, 17, Ἀρνεῖσθαι
 ... οὐ παρῆν, we see that the οὐ is required. SCHÆFER re-
 marks: "In direct narration, as here, οὐ is used; in the indirect,

[Page 33.]

μή, as XEN. HELLEN. vii. 3, 7. Οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἠρουντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γενέσθαι." "Ἄν τισι λοιδορηθῶσιν. See JELF, 589, 3.

Καὶ οὐχί πω. . . . ὄν δεινόν.] *And bad as this is it is not the worst.* Cf. De REB. CHERS. p. 97. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι τοιοῦτους δεινὸν ὄν, οὐ δεινόν ἐστιν. Οὐχί πω is much stronger than the usual οὐπω. Ἄλλὰ, sc. τοῦτ' ἐστι δεινότατον.

"Ὅσας. . . . ἀκροῶσθαι.] The subject of παρασκευάζει is in the subsequent words. *Quanta ex eo mala existunt, quod tales audire vultis.* WOLF.

τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν.] Cf. n. p. 111. Also, THUC. iii 28, Οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν. . . ὄντες. The scholiast interprets these words to mean: Οἱ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττοντες. THUC. uses a similar form in vi. 39. Οἱ τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντες. The reference is to Lathenes and Euthyrates of Philip's partisans, and the patriot Apollonides. Φιλίππου. The genitive depending upon ἦσαν. Cf. JELF, 518, 2, for further examples of the same class. FRANK cites LIVY, xxiii. 14: Plebs novarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis toto esset. Add CÆSAR de BEL. GAL. i. 45: Galliam potius esse Ariovisti, quam Populi Romani. REISKE translates, *Ad clavum reipublicæ sedentium.*

Τίνες δὲ τοῦ βελτίστου.] This also is dependent upon ἦσαν. JELF. 518. BREMI translates *studere optimis rebus.* SMERD entirely rejects this view of the government of τοῦ βελτίστου, and says: "εἶναι is very commonly used to denote possession, as of property, connected with which idea is the signification of *to be devoted to, or to belong to, as a class.* It is very rarely that it is used to denote the *devotion of persons to a thing, without a preposition, and this requires to be supported by examples.*" Until such examples are forthcoming he prefers to govern by ὑπέρ, and cites two passages where τοῦ βελτίστου is governed by ὑπέρ, but in neither of which is there the slightest resemblance to the present. De REB. CHERS. "Ὅστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου πολλὰ ἐναντιοῦται. IBID. Ἐπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω. This only proves that ὑπέρ governs the genitive, a point conceded by all. If any change is to be made, I prefer to supply with REISKE, μέρους κοινοί. This will then complete the sense, and supply a governing word to τοῦ βελτίστου, if such be required: *And certain acting for the better.*

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P, 589, 3.

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Δουλεύσουσι.] I have adopted this reading in preference to the subjunctive, δουλεύωσι. "Ὅπως is used with the future indicative. Cf. *infra*, p. 126, Εὐφραῖος δέ τις... ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δούλοι ἔσονται. Cf. JELF. 812, 2. It may also be used with the subjunctive, but less frequently than with the indicative.

'Εξώλεσαν.] Observe the force of the preposition, utterly destroyed. The force of ἐκ in composition is to express completion or success. Thus φεύγω is, I try to escape; ἐκφεύγω, I succeed in escaping. BRASSE *ad* SOPH. CEd. COL. 21.

Τοὺς ἰκπίας προῦδσαν.] Philip having laid siege to Olynthus, all his attacks were repulsed for some time; until, the people becoming dissatisfied, listened to complaints against Apollonides, the commander of the forces. By intrigue he was deposed, and Lasthenes and Euthyrates appointed to the command. Soon after, a sally was decided upon, and Lasthenes led five hundred horse into an ambuscade, where they were completely surrounded and made prisoners. FALS. LEG. pp. 425, 426. The town soon after surrendered, the only terms they could obtain being that their lives should be spared. JUSTIN. viii 3. The inhabitants were put up at auction and sold (DIODOR. xvi. 53), their lands being distributed among Philip's officers. Among the captives were some Athenian citizens, sent to aid in the defence. ÆSCH. FALS. LEG. p. 30. 'Απόλετο. Another reading is ἐξαπώλετο.

'Απολλωνίδην.] There is an Apollonides, an Olynthian, mentioned in DEM. *contra* NEER 1376, but he is met with in very suspicious circumstances, along with Peitholaus, despot of Pheræ. It may be doubted if he is the same as the present one.

'Επειδὴ... καὶ τῶν ξένων.] When, after Plutarch and his mercenaries had been expelled. In 349 B. C. Plutarch made application to Athens for some troops to assist him in Eretria, and Demosthenes, not wishing to grant them, and suspecting Plutarch to be an enemy, endeavoured to persuade the Athenians to deny him the required aid. *De* PACE, p. 58. However, the persuasion of Meidias prevailed, and Phocion was sent into Eubœa with a strong force of hoplites. DEM. *contra* MEID. p. 550. Callias of Chalcis now openly proclaimed himself an ally of Macedon, and having collected troops, and invited aid from the generals of

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Philip at Pegasæ, boldly marched against the Athenians. Phocion retreated to the town of Tamynæ, and there awaited the attack. The condition of the Athenians was critical in the extreme, *contra* ΜΕΙΔ. p. 567. At length Plutarch marched out to give battle, but soon after retreated and fled, drawing some Athenians away with him. Phocion was now in very great danger, and if it had not been for the firmness of his hoplitea, would have been entirely cut off. However, in the end, he conquered, and, pursuing his advantage, expelled Plutarch. Πορθμόν. See n. p. 119. Οἱ μὲν ἐφ' . . . τὰ πράγματα. *Some were for bringing the government over to you, ad vos rempublicam tractabant.*

Τὰ πολλὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάντα] *In plerisque vel potius omnino Τελευτώντες. At last. Cf. n. p. 116. Ἐπὲρ ἀδρῶν. For their advantage, or rather for the advantage of Athens, since if the Athenian politics had prevailed, all would have been well.*

Καὶ γὰρ τοι.] *Et tunc quidem. And then indeed. Klotz's translation, etemin profecto, would imply that what follows is a reason for what has gone before, but it is a continuation of the narration Σύμμαχος. "This word is added in bitter irony." SMEAD. Not at all. He was their ally by choice, and hence was not imposed on them. I should prefer to make the remark of φίλος. For his actions showed him to be anything but that.*

Ἐξελέηλακεν . . . σῶζεσθαι] *And completely expelled from the country those who twice wished to save it. After the defeat of Plutarch, the Athenian party in Eubœa established a free constitution, and it was not until dissensions afterwards arose that the Macedonians were invited in, and the events narrated here actually took place. WHISTON conjectures that they happened in 344. The allusion here will then be to the opposition which the popular party made to the establishment of the tyrants, and probably to a subsequent revolution. WOLF's translation I do not understand. He says: "Scilicet τοὺς Ἐρετρεῖς, cum jam tandem sero sapere vellent. I should rather translate: bis patriam conservare decertantes, or with WINIEWSKI, quum jam bis pro libertate contenderent. The remaining words from τότε to Παρμενίωνος are omitted in Codex Σ. Antipater and Parmenio were Philip's ambassadors at Athens to conclude the Peace of 346. Parmenio*

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was at that time Philip's deputy in Thessaly. In FALS. LEG. p. 362, they are described as the servants of Philip, and acting honourably for his interests. Of Eurylochus nothing further is known. The date usually assigned for these events is: the tyrants established in Ol. 109-1, Lyciscus being Archon, B. C. 344-3, and the expeditions of Eurylochus and Parmenio in the following year.

Καὶ τί δεῖ πολλά λέγειν:] *And why need I say more?* Cf. VIRG. ÆN ii. 101; also n. p. 117. Καὶ τί δεῖ τοῦς ἄλλους λέγειν; "Ἐπράττε Φιλίππῳ." *Favebat Philippo, in Philippi gratiam ἐπολιτεύετο.* More fully in FALS. LEG. p. 365. Θηβαίους τὰ πράγματα πράττει. "Ποιῆσαι Φιλίππῳ," Cf. PHIL. iii. p. 127. SCHÆFER, where πρὸς χάριν is understood according to REISKE. On the events here narrated cf. n. p. 113.

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Εὐφραῖος δέ τις.] In addition to what was said of him in n. p. 118, we may here add, on the authority of HARPOCRATION, that he was a disciple of Plato, and it was when attending the lectures of the philosopher that he resided in Athens. But we shall also find him elsewhere. We learn from ATHENÆUS, xi. p. 506, that he resided in Macedonia during the whole reign of Perdiccas, the brother of Philip, and that it was upon his suggestion that Philip was appointed governor of a portion of Macedonia. It is strange to see the friend of Perdiccas many years afterwards dying of grief on account of the conduct of the partisans of the youth who was first raised to power by the kindness of the Oreitan philosopher.

Ὅτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα. . . . προσηλακίζετο.] *How he was insulted in other respects, and trampled upon.* The first denotes the genus (*injuria*) the second the species (*contumelia*). FRANK. Cf. contra ANDROT. p. 611. BUTTMANN in his Lexilogus s. v. προσελεῖν says the proper meaning of προσηλακίζεω is to trample in the dirt.

Ἐνέδειξεν.] *He laid an information against them.* This was the proper mode of proceeding against traitors. See DIOT. ANT. s. v. Αἰσθόμενος ἃ πράττουσι, *Having understood what they are intending to do, i. e., having by some means gained information*

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of their treason, probably from some of his old Macedonian friends. *Συστροφέντες, Conspirati. REISKE.* Rather *conjurati*.

Χορηγὸν πρυτανεύομενοι] *Having Philip for their paymaster, and being guided by him.* These words refer to well-known Athenian customs, and thus would be understood in all their force by his audience. Cf. *De RHOD. LIB.* p. 191, *Φαιήσεται δ' ὁ μὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πείσας Μάσῳλος. Πυτανεύομενοι* is explained by *ἡγεροὺς* as *διοικούμενοι καὶ διαστρεφόμενοι*. This last word offends *REISKE*, and he has judiciously altered it to *διατρεφόμενοι*.

Ἄντι τοῦ τῷ μὲν βοήθειν ἀποτυμπάνισαι] *Instead of assisting him, and beating others to death.* The verb *ἀποτυμπάνειν* is used of beating to death by frequent blows. Cf. *De REV. CHRIS.* p. 104. The *ETYM. MAG.* explains the word by: *Οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ ἀποκτείνειν ἀλλὰ τυμπάνῳ ἢ ἀπὸ τυμπάνου*, and goes on to state that anciently the stick was used to put criminals to death, but afterwards the sword. The Latin term was *justuarium*. Cf. *CIC. PHIL.* iii. 6, *Fustuarium meruerunt legiones, quae consules reliquerunt*. Something similar still survives in the Russian *Knout*.

Ἐπιθήδειον εἶναι.] *Ἄξιον εἶναι.* Sic Latine *idoneus pro dignus*. *SCHÆFER. SALL. CAT.* 51. For the syntax of such expressions see *JELF.* 666, 1. *Δίκαιος* is used with a similar meaning in *PHIL.* ii. p. 74.

Ἐπέχαιρεν.] *Insultabat Euphraso, delectabatur ejus calamitate.* *WOLF.* This verb means actually to rejoice in or observe a person or thing, whether with kindly feelings or spitefully, but usually the latter. Cf. *DEM. contra MEID.* p. 556, *ἀλλὰ σοὶ ἐπέχαιρον.* *SCHÆFER* interprets it simply as *gaudere ob aliquid*.

Οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας ἔπραττον] *Those in authority acted as they wished.* *Οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἐξουσίας* is almost equivalent to *οἱ ἐπιτεταγμένοι*, or *οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν.* *Ἡβούλοντο.* The three verbs, *βούλομαι, δύναμαι, καὶ μέλλω*, take in the Attic dialect *ἐπι* as the augment instead of *ἐ*. *FRANKE* translates this passage *In tanta libertate quanta volebant. In all the freedom they could desire.*

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Καὶ κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν.] *And were preparing their plot.*
ὥστε οὐ πρότερον. . . . οἱ πολέμιοι.] *So that, so terrible a*
calamity impending over them, nobody dared to utter a word until
the enemy, already drawn up in battle array, advanced against their
walls. ῥῆξαι φωνῆν, cf. VIRG. ÆN. iii. 346. *Rumpitque hanc pec-*
tore vocem. TAC. ANN. vi. 20. *Non exilio fratrum rupta voce.*
SCHÆFER interprets: *loqui, tanquam ruptis vinculis, quibus timor*
vocem constrinxerat. It may be observed that in all the passages
both in Greek and Latin, in which the synonymous terms occur,
the speaker is labouring under violent mental excitement, and
thus in a manner bursts forth into conversation. Διασκευάζου-
νοι. *Succinti, armati, armis instructi, AUGER. Acie instructa.*
WHISTON interprets: *Having broken up their camp; but it rather*
means, Having everything ready for their purpose. Cf. THUC iv.
38. τὰ ἄλλα διασκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς πλοῦν. On πρὶν with the Ind.
cf. JELF. 848, 3.

Οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι. . . . ἀποκτείναντες.] *They ground down and*
tyrannized over those who then protected them (the tyrants), and
were prepared to do anything to Euphræus; expelling some of
these, and putting others to death. The meaning of all is: that
these tyrants expelled and even killed some of those who, on the
occasion of the troubles with Euphræus, had aided them, and
were prepared to do anything to Euphræus to satisfy the tyrants.
On the construction see JELF. 581, 1. This whole passage has
been very differently interpreted by the German commentator
WOLF, and his Gallic confrère, AUGER. WOLF removes the com-
ma after τυράννουσι, and inserts it after Εὐφραίων, thus completely
altering the sense of the whole passage, and making it refer, not
to the tyrants, but to those who defended Euphræus. He then
translates: *qui tum et se tuebantur, id est, defendebant patriam,*
et Euphræum, id est, vinculis liberabant, qui pro defensione patriæ
nullum periculum recusabant, partim ejecerunt, partim occiderunt.
But this does not convey the orator's meaning. He wishes to
paint the tyrants in their darkest colours, and in consequence he
represents them as *now* expelling and killing those to whom they
formerly owed their own safety.

Ὅτιοῦν ποιεῖν.] *Omnibus modis vexare.* SCHÆFER.

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Ἐπέσφαζεν ἑαυτόν.] Cf. XEN. ANA. i. 8, 28, Ἐαυτὸν ἐπισφάξα-
 θαι. Also JELF. 363, 1. Καθαρῶς, *With pure motives.* Cf. De
 COR. 803, Ἄν καθαρὰ ᾧσιν αἱ ψῆφοι, where the notion of com-
 pleteness and entirety is fully carried out.

Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, κ.τ.λ.] Cf. De REB. CHENS. p. 103, for an
 almost equivalent expression. Ἡδίων... ἔχειν. *Being so favour-
 ably disposed towards those who plead Philip's cause.* Ὅτι τοῖς μὲν
 ... οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν. *Because it is impossible for those who speak
 and advise for the best, always to speak for your gratification.* On
 πρὸς χάριν cf. JELF. 621, obs. 2, and also SOPH. ANT. vv. 30, 908.
 Τὰ πράγματα, *Respublica*, or as BREMI, *Salus et libertas patriæ.*

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Οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς..... συμπράττουσιν.] *But they play into Philip's
 hands, by those very means, by which they gratify the most.* Ἐισφέ-
 ρειν ἐκέλευον. The orator now proceeds to state very succinctly
 and fully the principal differences between the two classes of
 men, and it can easily be seen how much an idle, peace-loving
 people would prefer the counsels of slothfulness to those of
 strenuous activity: Ἐισφέρειν. See n. p. 42. Ἔως ἐγκατελήφθη-
 σαν, *Until they are caught in the snare. Donec circumventi sunt.*
 Cf. THUC. iii. 33. Ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐγκαταληφθεῖσα ἠναγκάσθησαν
 στρατόπεδον ποιῆσθαι.

Οἱ μὲν, ἐφ' οἷς..... ἀπέχθεται.] *Some spoke for present grati-
 fication, and gave no offence; others said what would eventually
 preserve the state, and animosity resulted to them.* The words καὶ
 ἐλύπου οὐδὲν and προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται are absent from many
 manuscripts and editions. A few give καὶ ἐλύπου οὐδὲν and
 omit the other, but they must stand or fall together; the one is
 the antithesis to the other, and if one is gone the other must fol-
 low. Seven manuscripts omit προσῆσαν δ' ἀπέχθεται, and give
 the others, while four have these words and also the others, but
 in the margin. Upon the whole I have followed DINDORF, who
 presents the latest researches in his last edition, and give the
 text as above. In this I am also agreeable to the lection of
 BEKKER and AUGER. Nor indeed do I see any sufficient reason
 for entirely ignoring them, as ARNOLD does. They add much

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to the thought, and round the sentence, which is always what an
orator must have in view. After οὐ δὲ sc. ταῦτ' ἔλεγον.

Πολλὰ δὲ προίεντο.] And many things lately the people
allowed to happen, not so much either for favour or through igno-
rance. Οὐχ οὕτως is variously interpreted. ARNOLD: Not from
these causes or motives, not in the manner I have described. WEST-
ERMANN: Οὐχ οὕτως sc. ὅπως σωθήσονται. And SCHÆFER: Οὐχ
οὕτως—ἀλλ' pro ἀλλὰ expectes ὤς. Sed ita sæpius Græci. Non
multum differt οὐ μάλλον. . . . ἀλλά. AUGER: Non temere. I pre-
fer this last. It seems to agree better with the words which
follow. But let us see if something better cannot be obtained.
One of the meanings of οὕτως is so much, usually followed by ὤς
which we see SCHÆFER suggests as the word you might expect.
Now the meaning will be: Not so much either for favour or through
ignorance. . . . as. Cf. HER. iii. 12. Κεφαλαί εἰσι οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυ-
ραί, μογίς ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξεις. Their heads are so hard that
you could scarcely break them with a stone. 'Ἄλλ' ὑποκατακλιόμενοι.
As bending to the force of circumstances.

Τοῖς ὅλοις.] When they thought they were to be deprived of the
whole. Cf. n. p. 120, for the construction of ἠτᾶσθαι.

Μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνόν.] There being no need of further action in your-
selves. ARNOLD has here μηδὲν ἐν ὑμῖν. The ἐν seems to have
crept in from the last syllable of the preceding word. I find
nothing of the kind elsewhere. Here follows in some editions
the following sentence, which is most certainly an execrable
attempt of some grammarian to make himself famous. Καὶ τοῦς
εἰς ταῦθ' ὑπάγοντας ὑμᾶς ὀρών οὐκ ὀρθῶδ' ἀλλὰ δυσωποῦμαι, ἢ γὰρ
ἐξεπίτηδες ἢ δι' ἀγνοίαν εἰς χαλεπὸν πρᾶγμα ὑπαγοῦσι τὴν πόλιν.
SCHÆFER says the two words ὀρθῶδ' and δυσωποῦμαι are quite
sufficient to condemn it. However, it is given in nearly all the
manuscripts, and HARPOCRATION expressly attributes these two
words to the Philippics of Demosthenes. As they do not occur
anywhere else in his orations, he must have referred to the pre-
sent passage. Still, they are inserted so awkwardly, and so
break up the course of the oration, that they must be set down
as a determined attempt at improving Demosthenes.

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 Καίτοι μὴ γένοιτο. . . . Φιλίππῳ.] *And yet may it never come to this, for it is better to die ten thousand deaths than to do anything through obsequiousness for Philip.* Γὰρ here assigns the reason for what has gone before. ARISTIDES, *Technographia*, p. 200, cites this passage and reads δὲ for γὰρ, and ARNOLD has adopted it, and translates, *but if it does; in that case.* FRANKE quotes CIC. *de OFF.* 1, 31. *At Ajax, quo animo traditur milites oppetere mortem potius, quam illa perpeli maluisset.* Cf. also CIC. *RAB. PERD.* 5. *Moreretur milites prius quam.* The words καὶ προέσθαι. . . . τινός, are wanting from many manuscripts, and indeed appear of later origin. This is the first intimation of any such action. We do not hear of the orators of any particular party being demanded for some years later. If true, they seem to contain a mournful foreboding of the fate of the orator and his friends as manifested during the reign of Alexander.

Καλὴν. . . . χάριν.] *A fine return truly.* Highly ironical. Ἐώθουν. *Pellebant, id est, repudiabant, aversabantur.* WOLF. This meaning of ὠθέω is peculiar, but cf. PLATO *REP.* 560, D. ὠθεῖν τινα φυγάδα, *To banish one.* This verb with ἀγνομι, ἄλικομαι, ἀνδάνω, οὐρέω and ὠνέομαι, takes the syllabic argument.

Τοὺς μὲν ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε.] "This incident is not otherwise known, but it is probably connected with the events consequent upon the battle of Tamynæ. From p. 125 of this oration it appears that Plutarch and his mercenaries were then ejected from Eretria, and the people being masters of the situation, some of the Eretrians wished to place themselves under the protection of Philip and others under that of the Athenians. Therefore we may presume that the Athenians despatched the envoys here mentioned, but without effect, for the result was that Philip was enabled to invest Cleitarchus with the sovereignty in which the latter treated the Eretrians as here described."
 WHISTON.

Δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ στρεβλούμενοι.] "They are slaves, lashed and racked." LORD BROUGHAM. He translates this whole passage from καλὴν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ το στρεβλούμενοι as follows: "Much indeed did the Oreitæ gain when they yielded to the friends of Philip, and thrust out Euphræus, and much the

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people of Eretria when they drove off your ambassadors, and gave themselves up to Cleitarchus! They are now slaves *lashed and racked.*" He then compares this with an extract from BURKE'S Regicide Peace, and shows the difference between extenuating a subject and finishing it at a single stroke. "The King of Prussia has hypothecated in trust to the Regicides his rich and fertile territories on the Rhine, as a pledge of his zeal and affection to the cause of liberty and equality. He has been robbed with unbounded liberty and with the most leveling equality. The woods are wasted; the country is ravaged; property is confiscated; and the people are put to bear a double yoke in the exactions of a tyrannical government, and in the contributions of a hostile conscription." BROUGHAM'S *Inaugural at Glasgow*, in GOODRICH'S *BRITISH ELOQUENCE*, p. 943. For another example of this cumulative style see CIC. *pro LEG. MANIL.* xi.

Ἐφέισατο.] *Has he spared.* So utterly was this city destroyed that it was almost impossible to determine its site. *Supra* p. 117. On Ἀπολλωνίδην, vide *supra*, n. p. 125.

Μωρία καὶ κακία.] *It is folly and cowardice.* Τῶν λεγόντων ἀκροαμένους. Verbs signifying operations of the senses are usually joined with the genitive of the person, and the accusative of the thing, but sometimes with the accusative of the person and genitive of the thing. *XEN. CYR.* i. 3, 10. Οὐκ ἀκροώμενοι δὲ τοῦ ἔδοντος. *ARIST. ACH.* 306, τῶν δ' ἐμῶν σπονδῶν ἀκούσατε.

Τηλικαύτην . . . πείσσειν.] *And think that you inhabit a city so great in size as that no calamity whatever can affect it.* Ὡστε τὴν πόλιν, τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ὄσσαν, δύνασθαι μηδοτιῶν δεινὸν πάσχειν, ἀλλ' ἔξω πάντος κινδύνου εἶναι. WOLF. SEAGER, in the *Classical Journal*, vol. lii. p. 239, proposed to change the received reading of this passage ὥστε μηδ' ἂν ὄτιον κ. τ. λ. to ὥστε μηδὲν, μηδ' ἂν ὄτιον ᾖ, δεινὸν πείσσειν, his reason being that δεινὸν cannot explain the meaning without some such word being supplied. In this he is followed by DOBREE; and DINDORF in his last edition adopts the same opinion and the actual reading of SEAGER. SCHÆFFER denies that any change is necessary, and even if there were a necessity, δεινόν τι would be preferable. I can hardly think that no change is required. The sense is evidently incom-

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plete, and although **SMAGER**'s suggestion rests on no authority, still it is the best yet proposed, and is accordingly adopted here. Καὶ μὴν. *Et vere. And truly.* Ἔδει γὰρ... μὴ ποιῆσαι. *For you ought to have done such and such a thing, and not this.* Cf. **PIND.** OL. ii. 53, ὁ μὲν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δὲ δαυδαλμένος φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν καιρόν.

*Α τότ' εἰ προεῖδόντο.] *Which if they had then foreseen.* Προῦσκέψαντο, in which sense the use of the mid. is legitimate. **SCHÆFER.** Πολλ' ἂν... Supply the same verbs as before. Ἄλλὰ τί τούτων ὕφελος αὐτοῖς; *But what advantage is any of these things to them?* Cf. **ARIST. PLUT.** 1152. Τί δῆτ' ἂν εἴησ ὕφελος ἡμῶν. Things were now at the worst, and it was sheer folly to lament what was lost by their own carelessness.

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*Ἔως ἂν σώζηται.] On ἔως ἂν with the subjunctive see **JELF.** 841. Σώζηται is here equivalent to σώω β. **SCHÆFER.** The Attics rarely used the singular of this adjective, but compare infra ἔως ἔσμεν σφοί. Σκαφός. *Vox propria orationis altius surgentis.* **SCHÆFER.** Cf. σκάφος πόλεως, *the ship of state*, in **ARIST. VESP.** 29.

Καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐξῆς προθύμους εἶναι.] This is the reading of the best manuscripts, and we have consequently retained it. The lection as given by **SCHÆFER**—ἄνδρα ἐφεξῆς πρόθυμον εἶναι, is on very poor authority, and in his notes he approves of the present reading, citing *contra* **TRIM.** p. 722. ἐξῆς πάντα. *Τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι. To guard against this.* The middle is used to denote that not only all should be on their guard, but that each for himself should also take care to prevent any disaster. Cf. **JELF.** 363, 6.

*Υπέροσχη, sc. τοῦ σκάφους.] The verb governs the genitive under the general principle of verbs signifying *superiority over*, &c. Μάταιος, the copula, as usual, omitted. **JELF.** 376. Ἀξίωμα κάλλιστον. *The most untarnished reputation.* The word is used particularly with reference to the position which Athens usually held among the other Grecian states. Cf. the Latin *dignitas* in **CIC. FAM.** ii. 17. *Lamia petit præturam; omnes intelligunt nec dignitatem nec gratiam ei deesse.* Here I shall quote the very apposite remark of **SMEAD**: "The orator instead of applying the simile of the ship to the administration of affairs, which he feels

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confident that his quick-minded hearers have already done, sud-
denly interrupts himself with the question τί ποιῶμεν;"
Πάσαι τις. . . . κἀθηται.] Some one of my hearers may perhaps
eagerly have desired to ask. WOLF remarks here that ἂν is some-
times construed with the future Indicative. But that can not
apply here, as ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως must be regarded as parenthetical.
HERMANN also adopts this view, and says we must supply some
such words as ἐρωτῶν or τοῦτο ποιῶν.

Καὶ γράψω. . . . χειροτονήσετε.] And I shall also move a resolu-
tion, and do you pass it, if you wish. Let us here examine the
various steps by which the laws were passed by the Athenians.
All motions for new laws were first debated upon in the Council
of Five Hundred, and, if approved by them, were then referred to
the people under the name of προβούλευμα. Sometimes, however,
this was not done, as in the case of the proposal of Ctesiphon to
crown Demosthenes. After the bill was read in the assembly,
(ἐκκλησία), probably by the γραμματεῖς, the proedri put the ques-
tion to the people, and called upon them to vote upon it. If they
were all in favour of it, it was immediately passed; if opposition
appeared, the subject was then discussed. The people always
gave their decision by χειροτονία, or show of hands. After discus-
sion the matter was again voted upon, and if confirmed became a
ψήφισμα, or decree of the people, and was equally binding upon
all parties. If, however, the προβούλευμα was rejected by the
popular assembly, it became null, and of no effect; if an equal
number of votes were given, it was called ἐπέτειον, or in force
for a year. But to prevent hasty legislation and avoid the diffi-
culty of proposing laws and passing them, which might have an
injurious effect, even a ψήφισμα was only in force for a year, and
unless it had been approved by the νομοθέται it then lapsed.
These nomothetæ were appointed from the heliastic body to act
as a court of revision for all laws, and so soon as a ψήφισμα was
passed it was referred to them. If they approved, it became a
νόμος; if they rejected it, at the end of a year it became null.
But that the ψήφισμα might have fair play before the council for
the revision of laws, the people had the power of appointing five
advocates (σύνδικοι) to attend before the board, and plead its

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necessity. Hence we can see the various terms at full length. A *προβούλευμα* is a decree of the senate in force for a year. A *ψήφισμα* gave this greater scope, and applied it to all parties, but its duration was only a year still. A *νόμος* was a law binding until repealed. The mover of a law was said *γράφειν νόμον*, the people who passed it *θέσθαι*. The term *χειροτόνειν* was interchangeable with *θέσθαι*. For further information see *Dict. Ant. s. v.*, *βουλή* and *νομοθέται*, and consult *SCHÆMANN De Comit. Ath.*

Καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀγωνιστέον.] *For surely, even if all others consent to enslave themselves, we at least must make a struggle for liberity.* *Παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες.* Observe the interchange of the perfect and aorist. Nor is this without due effect. The more important action of *making preparation* is kept before our mind, and then the aorist is employed to denote that its action is finished and complete. And not only is this the case, but still further the action of the perfect is represented as *continuing in its effects*. Cf. *HER. viii. 8.* 'Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν τετελεύτηκε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεγένετό οἱ τιμωρήσασθαι. Ταῦτα = ὅτι παρεσκευάσμεθα. *ARNOLD. Τὸς ταῦτα διδάξοντας* The future participle used to denote intention or purpose. *JELF. 705, 6, d.* With the sentiments here expressed cf. *De Reb. Chers. p. 119.*

Οὐδὲ γὰρ καταστρέψασθαι.] *For is it not foreign to his interests to prevent him subduing all things?* Plutarch seems to say that Demosthenes was suspected of having taken bribes from the King of Persia, who feared the success of Philip, and wished to stir up the Athenians against him. But it might be that Demosthenes thought that the Persian power being added to the Athenian, the King of Macedon would have more to do than he could well attend to. Besides, as such an idea is nowhere else even hinted at, we may set it down as a specimen of the *Malignity of Plutarch.* *Κοινωνοὺς ἐχθετε . . . ἂν τι δέη. Ye may have partners in your dangers and hopes, if need be.* *Εἰ δὲ μή. JELF. 860, 5.*

Χρόνους γε ἐμποῖητε τοῖς πράγμασιν.] *Ye may cause delay in his operations.* *Χρόνον ἐμποιεῖν* is to cause delay, to introduce de-

lays. "Cf. *contra* ARISTOT. p. 651. FALS. LEG. p. 392. Οὐδ' ἐποίησαν χρόνον οὐδένα." WHISTON. Also THUC. iii. 38. Καὶ χρόνον διατριβὴν ἐμποισάντων.

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 Πρὸς ἄνδρα.] "Because a state is a permanent power; a single man is liable to a variety of accidents, and his power terminates with his life." KENNEDY. Demosthenes was justified in using these remarks, since, if he had no other example to refer to, Cyrus the elder would have sufficed, whose powerful empire one might almost say ended with himself. But how many examples could we now adduce? Alexander the Great, Attila, Zenghis Khan, Tamerlane, Napoleon I. With all these the empires they founded died with themselves. Besides, an autocrat has always more power than a constitutional monarchy of any kind. He can direct his armies as he pleases, can withdraw them when he likes, and, untrammelled by his advisers, assume a bold or hesitating front, as the emergency may require. Οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον. *Not even this is valueless*, sc. χρόνον ἐμποιεῖν.

[*Αἱ πέρυσι βρεσβαῖαι.*] In 344 to Argolis and Messenia. Cf. the account given of them in PHIL. ii. pp. 70, 71. Καὶ κατηγορίας, *And remonstrances.* This word seems strangely out of place, and yet it is by far superior to any emendation yet proposed. Various ones have been attempted. WINIEWSKI says 'Ακαρνανίαν ought to be read; DROYSEN would read κατ' Ἀμβρακίαν, and SAUPPE κατ' Ἠπειρον. Philip had a little before this time been making attempts against Epirus and Ambracia. JUSTIN. viii. 6. ARNOLD is wrong in quoting DEM. c. OLYMP. p. 1173, to prove that Philip sent troops to Acarnania. This may be seen by the words employed. Καὶ κατὰ τύχην τινὰ καὶ δαίμονα ὑμεῖς ἐπέισθητε ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν. "As refers to πρεσβείαι alone, and not to κατηγορίας.

[*Πολύευκτος.*] An Athenian orator of the demus Spettios, a political friend of Demosthenes, with whom he worked in resistance to the Macedonian party. He, along with Lycurgus, was demanded by Alexander in 335 to be delivered up to him. ARRIAN. i. 10, 7. Ἐκεινοσί. Δεικτικῶς dictum; sedebat enim homo in cœtu audientium Demosthenem. SCHAEFER.

[*Ἠγήσιππος*] Another political friend of the orator, who, ac-

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ording to LIBANIUS, was the author of the speech *De HALON*. usually attributed to Demosthenes. Cf. LIBAN. *Introduction to De HALON*. Also FALS. LEG. p. 364. Κλειτόμαχος. Not otherwise known.

Λυκοῦργος.] An Attic orator, son of Lycophron, of the noble family of the Eteobutadae, was born about 396 B. C. He was the pupil of Plato and Isocrates, and a warm supporter of the policy of Demosthenes. Of the fifteen orations ascribed to him, only one, *contra* LEOCRATEM, survives.

Περίηλομεν.] *We went round upon* as canvassers, Latin *ambire*. WOLF renders by *obivimus*.

Καὶ μήτ' ἐπ' δρμηῆσαι.] *And neither then did he attack Ambracia, nor invade the Peloponnesus. Οὐ μέντοι λέγω κ.τ.λ.* The order is οὐ μέντοι λέγω αὐτοὺς (ὑμᾶς) ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν μηδὲν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν περικαλεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους. Περικαλεῖν = *Arcesere*, to summon, or call upon anybody as an ally. Cf. CÆSAR *de BEL. GAL.* 1, 31. Τὰ οἰκεῖα προἰεμένους . . . κήδεσθαι. *Abandoning your own interests, to say you cared for the interests of others.* Οἰκεῖος, *What is one's own* as a possession or property, *peculiar to one's self*. In THUC. iii 13, it is opposed to ἄλλοτριος as here. Κήδεσθαι with gen. *to be anxious about a thing, to care for any person*. L. & S Φάσκειν. See n. p. 112. Ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. *To terrify the others about the future.* Φοβεῖν is seldom used with the accusative except of a cognate noun. Examples, however, are given. IL. xvi. 689.

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Τοῖς μὲν ἐν Χερρόνησφ.] This refers to the forces then in the Chersonese, under Diopithes, as an army of observation against Philip, who was pursuing his conquests in Thrace. Φημι δεῖν. These words are used to express determination, and imply a positive disposition of mind on the part of the orator. Cf. PHIL. i. p. 42.

Συγκαλεῖν.] "*Is to invite generally; if the invitation did not succeed, συναγειν, which is stronger, as of one urging and forcing them; διδάσκειν, to explain the true condition of affairs, and show what will result therefrom; Νουθετεῖν, to induce them to action, having fully persuaded them both by your language and the*

the speech *De HALON*.
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critical position of affairs." [Page 37.] BREMI. Cf. *De REB. CHERS.* p. 109.
Τὸν διδάξοντας, νοουθησοντας, πράξοντας ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται τῇ πόλει.

Ei olesθε. . . . Μεγαρέας] *For if you think the people of Chalcis*
or Megara will save Greece. This does not seem to be spoken
 with contempt, as ARNOLD suggests, nor *disparagingly*, as SMEAD
 explains it. Chalcis was a principal city of Eubœa, and had
 been harassed by the Macedonian party as well as other places;
 and Megara was a city of the isthmus, where, we have seen, in-
 trigues were commenced, but nipped in the bud by Phocion.
 The orator refers to these just as he might have said Plataea and
 Argos, to shew that the small states need not oppose, if the large
 ones held back. *Ἵμεῖς δ' . . . τὰ πράγματα*. *And that you will*
avoid the trouble of attending to the affairs of the whole country.
 On the *Nom.* with the *Inf.* cf. JELF. 762.

Ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ.] *Well will it be for them*. They are so weak
 that they can scarce defend themselves. If any one hope that
 all Greece will be preserved by them, he is very far astray.
 SCHÆFFER. *Τοῦτο τὸ γέρας*. *This honorable distinction of being*
 the defenders of Grecian independence, the bulwark against Per-
 sian and barbarian. *The many and great dangers* refer to the
 events of the Persian wars: the battles of Marathon and Salamis,
 the burning of the city of Athens, and the battles of Mycale and
 Plataea.

Ὁ βούλεται.] *What he wishes*. This seems to have been the
 great failing in the Athenian character. If everything did not
 go as each one desired it, he folded his hands, and would then
 do nothing. This can easily be seen from the frequent complaints
 of the orator, of *each one doing what he wishes*, and *each one ex-*
pecting that his neighbour will do everything and he nothing. *Καθε-*
δεῖται. Future of *καθέζομαι*.

Ποίσει.] Many editions give *ποιήσῃ* here, but the future is
 certainly the preferable reading. The meaning in either case is
 much the same, except that the indicative expresses a *definite idea*
of possible realization. With the future in such constructions,
ἔσται is equivalent to *ἔστω τρόπῳ* as can be seen from THUC. vi. 11.
σκοπεῖν ἔστω τρόπῳ τὸ σφέτερον ἀπρεπὲς εὐθήσονται. The future is

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also used in OL. ii. p. 21, where no editions even venture to propose a subjunctive, and again a few lines below in the present oration.

Πρώτων μὲν οὐ μήποθ' εὕρη.] Here are any number of variations in the readings. One has οὐ μήποθ' εὕρη (SCHAEFER); another, οὐ μή ποθ' εὐρήσει; while the common reading is μὲν οὐδὲ μή ποθ' εὕρη. With the future, εὐρήσει, οὐ μή would have the force of an imperative, which manifestly could not apply here. With the subjunctive, these particles give a future meaning, and at the same time an idea of certainty is implied. DAWES lays it down as a rule that οὐ μή can never be used unless with the 2nd aor. subjunctive, but this seems too close; for ELSLEY, in a note to SOPH. CEd. COL. 173, distinguishes between οὐ μή with the future indicative and aor. subjunctive. Translate: *In the first place, he certainly will not find people to act for him. Ποιήσοντας.* Here many editions insert εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, εὕρηντ' ἂν πάλοι ἕνεκά γε τοῦ μηδὲν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσίν. But they seem to be merely an explanation of what the orator has been saying, and not part of the original text. They are absent from many of the best manuscripts, and in others are inserted after γένηται. This of itself would show that they are not genuine, as they plainly could not stand there, and make any sense.

Ἄεδοικα. . . . γένηται.] *And then I fear lest there be a necessity for us to do at once everything which we do not wish.* Ὅπως μή. This construction is used after verbs of fearing, as here, and also SOPH. CEd. REX. 1075. Ὅπως μή in such constructions is equivalent to *quomodo non*. CIC. FAM. ii. 5. *Quomodo homines non inepti loquuntur.* Ἡμῖν. Here it may not be out of place to remark that the words ἡμῖν and ὑμῖν in these orations are matter of much dispute. It is seldom that all the manuscripts and editions agree on any one form; and, indeed, it does not matter much. The orator in all cases might either speak of his audience in the second or first person, and the meaning is exactly the same. However, the form ἡμῖν, as the more respectful, is entitled, in any case of doubt, to the preference.

Ἐγὼ μὲν δῆ.] *I now then.* JELF. 720, 721, 1, 730. Ταῦτα γράψω. Referring to the statement supra, Ἐγὼ, νῆ Δί', ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ.

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ἄρ', ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω δέ.

[Page 27.]
'Ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν. After verbs of *thinking* and *declaring*, ἂν with the infinitive gives it the force of the future indicative, and generally implies the result of something which has been previously stated. The sense here is: *I think even yet our state may be restored to a proper condition if these things are done.* On this force of ἂν, cf. DEM. p. 497. Οὐκοῦν πρὸς πολλοῖς οἷς ἂν ὁ νομος βλάψειν ἡμᾶς φαίνεται.

[Εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτων βέλτιον.] *But if any one has a motion more conducive to safety than this.* τι is omitted from many manuscripts, and βελτίω is read instead of βέλτιον. But WOLF and seven other manuscript editions give it as above. Δόξει. This is ΒΕΚΚΕΚΚ's reading, and preferable to the common δόξειε. The indicative gives the expression a more positive turn. Συνενέγκαι. Συνενέγκαι is the reading of some editions, but Atticis συνενέγκαι videtur magis placuisse. SCHÆFER. *But whatever shall appear good to you, may that, O all ye Gods! result to your advantage.*

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TABLE OF PARALLEL PAGES.

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"	117	" 183	"	" 157, " 2.
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page	4,	line	25.
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"	12,	"	4.
"	33-4.		
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"	27,	"	4.
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"	11,	"	29.
"	27,	"	17.
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"	50,	"	7.
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"	2,	"	12.
"	139,	"	18.
"	137,	"	13.
"	183,	"	17.
"	165,	"	13.
"	154,	"	6.
"	157,	"	2.
"	85,	"	15.
"	143,	"	33.
"	146,	"	6.
"	21,	"	4.
"	53,	"	24.
"	165,	"	34.
"	33,	"	19.
"	27,	"	10.
"	181,	"	11.
"	18.		
"	142,	"	13.
"	3,	"	20.

ERRATA.

Page xvii,	line	28,	for	go	read	goes.		
3,	"	30,	"	εἰπέ	"	εἰπέ.		
4,	"	18,	"	ᾧ	"	ᾧ.		
4,	"	23,	"	ἀλλ'	"	ἀλλ'.		
8,	"	24,	"	ᾧ	"	ᾧ.		
9,	"	2,	"	ἄν	"	ἄν.		
11,	"	4,	"	ἄν	"	ἄν.		
20,	"	3,	"	ἐγὼ	"	ἐγὼ.		
24,	"	31,	"	Σεβρέλου	read	Σεβρέλου.		
28,	"	20,	"	ἀγωνοθετήσοντας	read	ἀγωνοθετήσοντας.		
31,	"	3,		dele	full	point	after	δίκας.
50,	"	30,		for	οὔσα	read	οὔσα.	
54,	"	22,	"	reading	read	reading.		
56,	"	20,	"	εἰπέ	read	εἰπέ.		
58,	"	9,	"	ἐπιστάντες	read	ἐπιστάντες.		
64,	"	23,	"	γενήσεται	"	γένηται.		
86,	"	19,	"	πέυθεις	"	πέυσεις.		
89,	"	1,	"	Page 4	read	Page 11.		
95,	"	32,	"	τῷ	read	τῷ.		
108,	"	8,	"	εδρίσκε	read	εδρίσκει.		
108,	"	30-31,		read	ἀγαπᾶν.			
113,	"	7,		for	emin	read	enim.	
113,	"	12,	"	ἐκεῖ	read	ἐκεῖ.		
117,	"	19,	"	ὄτ'	read	ὄτ'.		
123,	"	18,	"	ἄτῳ	read	ἄτῳ.		
133,	"	26,	"	προς	read	πρός.		



